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DISCUSSION: *Ukrainian Modernism**

The Journal *Svit*: A Barometer of Modernism

DANYLO HUSAR STRUK

The beginning of Ukrainian Modernism is usually linked with the 1903 appearance of M. Voronyi's almanac *Z nad khmar i dolyn*. Yet the almanac is but a compromise, with works of the Modernists (including Voronyi himself) published next to such stalwart Populists as M. Staryts'kyi, B. Hrinchenko, I. Nechui-Levyts'kyi, and V. Samiilenko. It was an attempt by Voronyi to proclaim a new sensibility toward art, although individual manifestations of "modernism" (especially in the realm of form) had appeared earlier. The works of O. Kobylians'ka in the 1890s, V. Stefanyk from 1897, H. Khotkevych also from 1897, Lesia Ukrainka, and even V. Vynnychenko, who first appeared in 1902, all exhibited elements of modernism and all preceded the 1903 almanac. Despite the writings of these authors, despite Voronyi's manifesto, modernism was not yet an accepted aesthetic movement in Ukraine.

Serhii Iefremov's reader's comments, "V poiskakh novoi krasoty" (In search of a new beauty), serialized in *Kievskaia starina* in 1902, lashed out at the new literary tendencies, at what he called "symbolism," devoid of any social responsibility, propagating a new beauty which seemed to him to be no more than an espousal of pornography:

* The following pages contain three essays on Ukrainian Modernism by Danylo Husar Struk, Oleh Ilnytzkyj, and Maxim Tarnawsky as well as a commentary on these essays by George Grabowicz and the authors' brief responses. The three essays are the first segment of a larger discussion of Ukrainian Modernism conceived and established by Danylo H. Struk. The forum for these discussions has been the annual National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies. These three essays, which examine various conceptions of Modernism, were delivered at the AAASS meeting in Washington, D.C., in October 1990. A second round of papers addressing questions of genre, style, and influence took place in Miami in November 1991. Further rounds focusing on historiography, critical theory, and the profile of individual authors are planned for subsequent AAASS meetings. Eventually, the essays will be collected in a single volume that gives a broad overview of a neglected corner of Ukrainian literary history.

> The farthest development of the symbolist scheme, and the essence of the discovery made by the young generation, the last word, so to speak, of our symbolism consists of the fact that the cult of love turns into the cult of. . . the naked body—of course, the female naked body predominantly if not exclusively. Yet that is exactly, if you will, what was bound to happen: if the *whole* meaning of life rests only on beauty and physical love, then sooner or later that beauty and love will undoubtedly focus on one point—straight sensuality and straight unadulterated pornography.[1]

Iefremov's attack was specifically aimed at Khotkevych and Kobylians'ka. Those familiar with their works will find Iefremov's statements somewhat hyperbolic. Perhaps he felt that the threat of pornography would produce a greater effect on the reader. What he was really concerned with was the fact that such pursuits were a waste of talent which Ukraine could ill afford:

> We have so few workers in all the spheres of intellectual life and their absence is felt always and everywhere so strongly and truly that any and every loss of [such workers] is doubly felt on our social organism. Every premeditated waste, even of one's own personal resources, becomes immediately not only thoughtlessness. . . but a crime against one's country and one's people.[2]

This fear of losing talented people to some fanciful aesthetic formula lies at the crux of the criticism. Similar feelings were expressed by Ivan Franko. Although his own collection of poetry, *Ziviale lystia* (The withered leaves; 1896), belongs in theme and lyrical mood to the modernist movement in Ukrainian poetry at the time, he was quick to pounce on the so-called Modernists lest they be seduced from the task at hand, i.e., the social and political development of a people still in search of its self-determination. With two such formidable voices against them—Franko in Western Ukraine and Iefremov in Ukraine under Russian rule—it is indeed surprising that the Modernists dared appear at all. Yet this very conflict between "fathers and sons" played a role, if not the primary one, in the decision of the young men of letters in Western Ukraine to unite informally into a literary group, Moloda Muza, and to commence the publication of the journal *Svit* as the group's "organ."

Modernism is as broad a phenomenon as any other literary movement and many works have been written which attempt to define the term. In Ukrainian literature, however, some work is still needed to provide a more precise definition of what is meant by Ukrainian Modernism. B. Rubchak's insightful introduction to *Ostap Luts'kyi—Molodomuzets'*, entitled "Probnyi

1 S. Iefremov, "V poiskakh novoi krasoty," *Kievskaia starina*, 1902, no. 12, pp. 404–5.
2 Iefremov, "V poiskakh novoi krasoty," p. 417.

let (Tlo dlia knyhy),"[3] gives a broad survey of the history of modernism and of the various influences on the Ukrainian Modernists. Rubchak presents in succinct characterizations the strengths and weaknesses of many of the individual writers as well as the overall success or rather lack of success of the modernist movement in Ukraine. The title of his essay—"A Trial Flight"—confirms the fact that Rubchak sees Ukrainian Modernism prior to 1918 as a mere prelude. He refers to many of the Ukrainian authors as "presymbolists" and emphasizes their world outlook as neoromantic. He draws a broad picture of modernism in general in order to show how and which aspects of modernism filtered through to the writers in Ukraine. It soon becomes apparent that the Ukrainian writers accepted only certain elements of European modernism—aspects of a modernist world outlook consisting of "... pessimism, a lack of enthusiasm for life, a longing for mystical escapism, an aristocratic disdain for the rest of society."[4]

A closer examination of the journal *Svit* confirms much of what was said by Rubchak and points quite clearly to the reasons why Ukrainian Modernism has remained such a marginal literary movement. *Svit* was a semimonthly magazine published in Lviv in 1906 (20 issues) and 1907 (17 issues),[5] yet it served as the organ of the Moloda Muza only until October 1906. Since the first issue was dated 24 February and the final modernist issue was number 18, dated 10 November, the experiment in a modernist journal lasted only nine months—hardly long enough to have an impact. It was, in fact, a dismal failure as far as magazine publishing is concerned: the journal could not support itself, there were not enough people interested in its content, and it folded because of lack of subscribers. A facile conclusion drawn from this would claim that modernism was not acceptable to the Ukrainian intelligentsia. This is, however, only partially correct. It is true that the slogans "art for art" and "this is art, do not push ideas into it" were not quite the sentiments that the majority of Ukraine's intelligentsia espoused. The very same intelligentsia, however, did read and accept favorably the modernist works of some of the contributors to *Svit* (Kobylians'ka, Pachovs'kyi, Lepkyi, and others). Why then would the same reading public not accept a journal devoted to the movement as a whole? An examination of the contents may provide an answer.

3 B. Rubchak, "Probnyi let," in *Ostap Luts'kyi—Molodomuzets'*, ed. Iu. Luts'kyi (New York, 1968).

4 Rubchak, "Probnyi let," p. 26.

5 The last issue for 1907 appeared in 1908.

The journal began with an impressive promise to the reader. It is worth summarizing and partially quoting the introductory remarks of the editors (initially, V. Birchak with the aid of a board made up of P. Karmans'kyi, O. Luts'kyi, and M. Iatskiv).[6] The introductory statement enthusiastically propounds the necessity for a magazine representing the new trends and the youth of the land. Since, at that time, the major literary magazine in Western Ukraine was *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* (*LNV*), over which the "older" generation held sway with Franko as the reigning critic, one may assume the editors were presenting *Svit* as a viable alternative:

> With youthful enthusiasm, with a strong belief in the indisputable need for a new literary newspaper, armed with experience from previous unsuccessful attempts, we approach this new enterprise and present to you, friends, compatriots, this first visible example of our achievements. We come to you during these trying days of wide social and political activity and we point to the path of Goodness and Beauty, often forgotten in times of struggle and yet so longingly awaited. This path we have given the name *Svit* [World].[7]

The rather stilted, exalted tone continues for a page and a half. The editors introduce themselves and their advisers and proceed to enumerate what will follow in future issues of the journal. They divide the contents into four broad areas: poetry, prose, translations, and popular scholarly writings as well as reviews and commentary on current literary and cultural events at home and abroad. After stating in very general terms what is to appear under each of the groupings, they promise to maintain contact with writers in Ukraine under Russian rule for "the time has come when Ukraine is beginning to live its own life."[8] The conclusion of these remarks is both a boast and a plea:

> We will do everything in our power to bring forth *Svit* as best as possible. The names of our contributors, their respect for art—let these speak today to our honorable comrades and compatriots. We extend warm and sincere encouragement to such a good and necessary affair, we add our enthusiasm and our love—the rest is in your hands, respected public![9]

What is indeed curious, bearing in mind the attacks by Iefremov and Franko, is this editorial's continually expressed concern for the needs and welfare of the community and "our fellow compatriots." The tone of social

[6] B. Lepkyi, V. Shchurat, and V. Pachovs'kyi were artistic advisors. V. Budzynovs'kyi became editor for numbers 14–20, and M. Iatskiv took over in 1907.

[7] *Svit*, no. 1 (24 February 1906), p. 1.

[8] References to the reforms after the Revolution of 1905 and, most importantly, the abolition of the destructive and prohibitive Ems ukase.

[9] *Svit*, no. 1, p. 2.

responsibility is not what one would expect from an avant-garde group, especially one accused of heading straight toward "pornography." Certainly there is some equivocation here. It is probably in the group's very uncertainty that one of the causes for its failure can be found. The members of Moloda Muza were too timid and too concerned with what was for the "good" of the society to which they wanted to introduce the "finer beauty of art." This timidity, this inability to be truly, unequivocally modern, is reflected in the journal's content.

Even in the first issue (and the issues weaken progressively in quality), one can see the editors' ambivalence. Immediately following the editorial statement quoted above is a short, one-verse poem by V. Pachovs'kyi dedicated to Ukraine: the poet bemoans his inability to assuage Ukraine's needs at this great hour. Of little intrinsic poetic value, the four-line stanza signals, however, the ever-present concern with the fate of Ukraine. The other selections of poetry in the first issue of the journal consist of lackluster, even funny by today's standards, love poems by V. Shchurat ("Я чую голос. . . То любов твоя / так тужить глухо. . . / А так її докладно чує ухо. . . / Щасливий я!");[10] a typical poem of pessimistic pose by P. Karmans'kyi; and another lyrical song by Pachovs'kyi. The quality of the verse in the first issue is symptomatic of all the poetry selections in the journal, with a few exceptions (poems by Pachovs'kyi in number 12/13). Some, however (for example, O. Maritchak's contribution in number 17), are quite awful.

The extent of modernist theory can be glimpsed behind the plot of the journal's first prose selection, a small lyrical prose piece by M. Iatskiv, "Dolia moloden'koii Muzy" (The Fate of a young muse). In a transparent allegory the muse (a young and willful girl) decides to remain high in the mountains. Her beau can only aspire to a base physical possession and cannot fathom her higher desires. She tricks him into descending alone to meet her below, but she stays on the mountain. If he truly loved her, she reasons, he would understand intuitively her wish and stay with her in the heights. This very romantic notion of the muse and the artist's calling seems to be at the core of the modernist aesthetic thinking of Moloda Muza.

The most original item in the first issue of the journal is Khotkevych's reply to Iefremov, done as a literary spoof. In a bit of transparent mystification, Khotkevych claims to have discovered an old epistle by a certain S. E. (Iefremov wrote in Russian and therefore his name began with "E"), entitled "Slovo." Written in a "learned" tongue full of Old Church Slavonic, the epistle consists of an exhortation against the sinful path of the

10 *Svit*, no. 1, p. 3.

"symbolists"—the "servants of Hell." In his explanatory note to this "find," Khotkevych points to the "unusual archaic thought" of this literary monument which, though dated to the eighteenth century, belongs to the eleventh or at best the twelfth. Closer analysis reveals, he maintains, that every phrase in the entire "Word" is plagiarized from various other "Words and Epistles," and the vehement hatred points to the impotence of the author, a certain Efrem Ryryn. Khotkevych dates his note January 1903—hence, a definite reply to Iefremov's attack of 1902. Unfortunately, this is the first and last such item in the whole journal.

As if to emphasize the absurdity of Iefremov's charges, the literary spoof is followed by a translation of "La vie profonde" from Maurice Maeterlinck's *Le Trésor des Humble* (1896), in which the author propagates the Platonic and symbolist belief in the serious, the unexpected, in beauty and God, to be perceived even in the mundane and in everyday life. Maeterlinck defines the aim of poetry as "the opening of and holding ajar the gates leading from that which can be seen to that which cannot be readily glimpsed."[11] Obviously, there's little of "the devil or sin" in this "symbolism." The other translation in the first issue is of the Italian Edmondo De Amicis. The benevolent mood of this prose piece, consisting of the musings of a father on the wonders of a child, fits well the mood of the Ukrainian Modernists—a mood of rather pessimistic longing and bemusement with the wonders and beauty of life.

The translations in all the issues consist of short pieces from French (Maeterlinck, Guy de Maupassant, and Anatole France), English (Edgar Allan Poe, Oscar Wilde), German (Friedrich Nietzsche, Heinrich Heine), Yiddish (Sholem Asch, Isaac Peretz), Serbian (D. Jakšić), as well as works of other lesser-known European writers. The Italian Ugo Foscolo's *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis* began in the second issue and ran through eleven issues. Serialization was, in fact, the most prominent feature of the semimonthly. The editors must have felt that readers would buy the journal just to read the next supplement. Some of the later issues consisted almost entirely of various continuations, interspersed with small poetic fillers. This method of keeping the reader's interest might have been successful if the material serialized had, in fact, been interesting.

Foscolo's epistolary novel, consisting of the letters of a sensitive, patriotic young man torn between his love for a woman whom he cannot have (she is betrothed to another) and his love for his country, was, though rather tedious and boring, an ideal vehicle for Karmans'kyi and other *molodomuztsi* who could empathize with the unrequited love of the hero for the

[11] *Svit*, no 5. p 76.

girl and with the longing for his country, not yet free. Though what was being translated was dependent, of course, on the linguistic prowess of the contributors, the selections still seem to favor such works with which the Modernists could easily identify, for example, Anatole France's "Why We are Sad" (for we have lost the faith of our fathers), which appeared in the ninth issue. Yet the ambivalent attitude of the *molodomuztsi* is seen once again in Iatskiv's note to that translation:

> Sending forth among the honorable community a ray of [from] the most intelligent contemporary aesthete and writer, I have the satisfaction that at least in this small way I will *pay back my sincere debt.*[12]

Another item of interest in the first issue, and again not repeated (except for the continuation in the second), is a critical review of Ukrainian literature for 1905 by O. Luts'kyi. Although his survey is engaging in its own right, it is Luts'kyi's assessment of the reading public and the conditions confronting authors in Western Ukraine that is interesting, as it points to one of the reasons the young Modernists felt they had to have their own journal. Before discussing any of the literary works published in 1905, Luts'kyi complains that:

> . . . a great number of Galicians are content with reading political newspapers, and find neither money, nor time, nor, what is most important, interest for literary works. So what is going on? The fact of the matter is that 1) to publish novels, poetry, etc., is, for the most part, an outright financial loss; 2) books have to be as cheap as possible, or no one will buy them (with small sales, it again becomes impossible financially!); 3) in such circumstances it is extremely difficult to get even the smallest royalties from the publisher; 4) authors cannot live on their writings and are forced to work in completely alien, often quite repulsive, surroundings and, not finding the proper atmosphere there, often waste their talents.[13]

Also of interest is Luts'kyi's definition of what he considers new in literature, for it offers some notion as to what the *molodomuztsi* considered "modernism" to be. In the second installment of his survey, Luts'kyi tries to explain this phenomenon:

> The new literary and philosophical currents also do not bypass our literature; here and there we come across something new in the realm of conception and form, new melodies, new descriptions. In the [realm of] content the old dry descriptions and solutions of various "questions" are replaced here and there by psychological understanding and feeling, again the mood of the current; and in place of the old

[12] *Svit*, no. 9, p. 133. Emphasis is mine—DHS.
[13] *Svit*, no. 1, p. 11.

topographic or ethnographic notations we find a new combination of lines, spots, and sunny reflections.[14]

It is intriguing that the definition is quite poetic and rather vague: the *molodomuztsi* had more of a feeling than a concrete program for what the "new" literature was to be.

The first issue of *Svit* is rounded out by several reviews which, here and throughout the other issues of the journal, show that the reviewers were exacting and did not shrink from being critical. The reviews are followed by an obituary of R. Sembratovych by Karmans'kyi; a commentary on current affairs—in this instance, a scathing description of the pettiness of the Galician theater-going public; an editorial note about the timely reception of future issues; and a biography of Mozart on the 150th anniversary of his birth. The last item again points to the ambivalence of the editors. It is a straightforward biography of Mozart, meant to "educate" or enlighten the public—one of the obligations of the intelligentsia as perceived by Franko and Iefremov, and one which the young *molodomuztsi* could never forget.

The most striking feature of the first issue of *Svit* is the fact that it contains no really good original literature. Birchak's "Pid nebom poludnia" (Under the sky of the south), although a delightful vignette, a Ukrainian mini-Oblomov study in procrastination, was anything but modern. The interesting features (Khotkevych's spoof on Iefremov and Luts'kyi's survey) were not to be repeated in future issues. The translations from Maeterlinck and De Amicis were of limited appeal. There was really very little that would attract a reading public to a new journal. The following issues did little to improve the situation. Birchak's story, the translation of Maeterlinck, and Luts'kyi's survey were all continued in the second issue—the beginning of the trend for serialization to which the editors diligently adhered.

What becomes quite apparent as one goes from issue to issue is that the editors lacked good material and seemed to have various other difficulties: they double up numbers 10 and 11 and 12 and 13; Luts'kyi drops from the editorial board with number 10/11, leaving the editing to Iatskiv; Iatskiv leaves Lviv with number 14 and V. Budzynovsky becomes the chief editor. The editor and publisher then become one, and the publisher sees that he is losing money. This leads to the announcement in number 18 that the journal will assume a new profile. This editorial note is extremely important, for it points to the reasons for the demise of the "Modernist" journal, as perceived by the publisher, who is not himself a Modernist. Basically, he claims that the public did not accept the journal:

[14] *Svit*, no. 2, p. 25.

> *Svit* was to have been a literary-scholarly organ of the younger generation of our writers. The publisher did not intrude into the editorial decisions, leaving it up to the public to decide if a periodical edited as *Svit* had been had a reason to exist. . . .
>
> How did the Ruthenian [Ukrainian] society judge our newspaper?
>
> It judged it in such a way that, despite the fact that the editor and staff worked for free, the subscriptions received covered only half of the cost of publishing. In addition, almost all of the subscribers demanded that *Svit* not represent *only one* literary trend, in general incomprehensible to the Ruthenian intelligentsia. Thus the majority of the subscribers to *Svit*, as well as persons who understand the needs of our society, appeal for reading material which is both understandable and useful for our intelligent public—material which today they can get only from German and, what is even worse, Polish journals.
>
> . . . (when the editors, due to their departure from Lviv, closed the editorial office) the publisher of *Svit* decided to change the direction of the periodical. . . in line with the spiritual needs of the majority of our intelligentsia. . . . The content of *Svit* shall be increased by 80 percent, as of the new year, and every issue will be amply illustrated.[15]

Although twenty-four issues were promised for 1907, only seventeen appeared, and the journal folded. Neither a different, more comprehensible content (e.g., I. Karpenko-Karyi's drama *Sava Chalyi* and M. Staryts'kyi and L. Staryts'ka's novel *Pered bureiu* [Before the storm]) nor illustrations seemed to make any difference. The fact is, however, that with very few exceptions (some translations of Poe, Nietzsche, France, and Maeterlinck and Pachovs'kyi's "Zhertva shtuky" and Kobylians'ka's serialized novelette *Nioba*), there was very little of worth which would distinguish the journal as "a literary-scholarly organ of the younger generation of our writers." Moreover, the vagueness of its direction allowed the inclusion of several items which can be explained only by a very serious shortage of publishable material. Such items as Fed'kovych's previously unpublished poems (in no. 2) or the printing of the autograph version of the story "Beztalanne kokhannia" (Unfortunate love; no. 4); comments on language editing of the first publications of Fed'kovych's poems (no. 3); Shchurat's historical-literary commentaries on the cult of Shevchenko in Galicia (no. 2) and on Fed'kovych (no. 3) and his notes about Iulian Dobrovols'kyi (no. 4); the interesting articles on early relations between Galicia and Ukraine by Kyrylo Studyns'kyi (in nos. 8, 9, 10/11); and the newly discovered poems by Shevchenko (no. 19) could be accepted as attempts by the editors to make the journal not only a literary one but also one of literary scholarship. But with such items, as well as with the numerous reviews, the editors succeeded more in competing with *LNV* than in pursuing a modernist type

15 *Svit*, no. 18, p. 273.

of publication. This was due, again, to the editors' ambivalence toward their espoused literary direction and to a lack of good original material.

Though the inclusion of literary scholarship could be excused and even welcomed, there is little one can say about some of the other items which appeared in the journal. Only dearth of publishable material can explain the banal and misogynist *feuilleton* by M. Derlytsia, "Novyi vynakhid"—a story without any characterization or depth that would never have appeared in any serious journal as a lead story as it did in number 5; or the completely misplaced bit of humor entitled "How Cossacks Drink," as well as other anecdotal humor in number 10/11; or the typical nineteenth-century populist poetry of Ostap Derev''ianko in number 12/13; or the ethnographic notation of wedding ritual and songs in the village Semerivka by Iu. Kmit in numbers 12/13, 15, and 17. Lack of suitable material was compounded by a lack of specific and consistent editorial direction.

This apparent lapse in quality control is quite surprising since one of the main elements in the editors' motivation for starting a new journal was the keen awareness of the lack of literary quality in populist literature at the turn of the century. Their high standards are quite apparent in the various reviews which appear in the journal and which form one of the most enjoyable segments. Such, for example, is the review of *Primula veris*, a collection of first poems by several different authors in which the reviewer, under the pseudonym of "Smikhunchyk" (The joker), is merciless. The reviewer is not loath to assume a condescending tone and to give the new poets a necessary lesson on poetry:

> Several names and already we have two directions which constantly struggle in our literature: the artist and the publicist; the rest are casual lyricists. The artist is high priest of the sacred fire of eternal beauty; the publicist is sower of the ideas of the day through art; he is socially motivated, he is a benefactor through art. . . .
>
> But the poet must remember that current ideas are but the foam of surface and changing waves, and poetry is the eternal language of the very depth of the human soul; the superficial waves change in color depending on the inclination of the sun and the direction of the wind; and the depth is always the same; and in this depth one has both the foam of ideas, the pearls of feeling and the blood of dolphins wounded by sharks. . . . All this can be said only in images, allegorically. Therefore, the language of poetry is imagery. If as a poet you do talk to the human heart, then your every word throws an image onto the eye, or imitates the sound for the ear, or talks through the emotion of one heart to another. Poet, take then only those words which recreate the image and the music of nature and the heart; and throw the others behind you like rocks. . . .[16]

[16] *Svit*, no. 4, p. 63.

Certainly the reviewer, if not the editors, had some notion of what made poetry. A similar sense of artistic quality is seen in the other reviews as well as in the editorial rejections. Most of the latter are scathing and some are even quite clever, as is, for example, the tongue-in-cheek reply to the would-be poet in number 7.[17] The sad fact of the matter is, however, that the concern for quality as seen in the reviews and in the replies to would-be contributors did not always touch the published material. Of the many contributors (P. Karmans'kyi, O. Luts'kyi, M. Iatskiv. B. Lepkyi, V. Shchurat, V. Pachovs'kyi, S. Charnets'kyi, K. Hrynevycheva, P. Kapel'horods'kyi, M. Khotkevych, Iu. Kmit, O. Kobylians'ka, M. Kotsiubyns'kyi, O. Kovalenko, O. Kysilevs'ka, S. Liudkevych, O. Makovei, V. Masliak, K. Studyns'kyi, S. Tverdokhlib, M. Voronyi, and some other lesser known ones) only Pachovs'kyi, Kobylians'ka, and Kotsiubyns'kyi submitted items which could be considered as both belonging to "Modernism" (as the *molodomuztsi* defined this term) and of sufficient artistic quality to sustain the interest of the reader. Excluding the reviews, scholarly articles, and translations (and even some of these were of doubtful interest, if not quality), the majority of original contributions was quite mediocre.

For whatever reason, the editors left the journal and the publisher took over and would have all believe that the journal failed because the public was not ready for this type of "artistic" periodical. Although further study is required to ascertain reader response, it is clear that the journal was an attempt to grant a new venue to the younger writers and that in this it failed. Several of the younger writers could not get their say in the established and venerable *LNV*. They were attuned to the changes occurring in Europe and were also aware of the fact that in some respects the populist tradition was weighing heavily on Ukrainian literature. *LNV* was edited by the old guard; it was easier to produce a new journal than to take over or try to change the established one. *Svit*, then, was intended as a new voice, but it became no more than a very pale imitation of the old *LNV*. A sympathetic critic and younger observer of the scene in Lviv at the time, Mykhailo Rudnyts'kyi, wrote in his introduction to a collection of novellas by the *molodomuztsi*:

> When you open the concurrent volumes of *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk* and compare them with *Svit*, you will not find in *Svit* anything new—neither in the works published nor in the ideas.[18]

17 *Svit*, no. 4, pp. 111–12.

18 Mykhailo Rudnyts'kyi, "Shcho take 'Moloda Muza'," in *Chorna Indiia "Molodoii Muzy"* (Lviv, 1937), p. xvi.

The public, of course, was not overly enthusiastic about a journal that was in fact neither very new nor very modern. Had there been a really talented author or two among the *molodomuztsi*, perhaps the venture would have succeeded. Unfortunately, even the three most talented members of Moloda Muza—Pachovs'kyi, Karmans'kyi, and Iatskiv—were at best second-rate authors. Luts'kyi's abilities as an organizer and a critic were not enough to launch a journal and make it successful. Although the members of Moloda Muza declaimed "art for art," they could not rise above psychological realism tinged with slight elements of decadence and Nietzschean voluntarism. Again Rudnyts'kyi's assessment was accurate:

> *Svit* did not discover any new writers—neither native [Ukrainian] ones nor foreign ones. When we peruse its pages, we cannot even recreate the attitude with which people longing for a new literature would sit down to read it.[19]

Finally, as the contents of the journal *Svit* shows, the *molodomuztsi* were themselves of two minds. The editors could not abandon their concern for and sense of duty toward society. They felt obligated to "educate" the public. To quote Rubchak once again: "In their inception they were swallowed by 'social duty,' pulling some of them into its organism (Lepkyi, Luts'kyi, Pachovs'kyi, Oles') and psychologically destroying others (Karmans'kyi, Kozlovs'kyi, Iatskiv)."[20]

Rudnyts'kyi's essay, written thirty years after *Svit*'s demise, ends by posing the question: what of the Moloda Muza will survive another thirty years? Eighty-four years later we know that *Svit* remains a literary curiosity. Its value is only historical. What has become most puzzling, however, is the position held by Franko and Iefremov. One cannot but wonder what the fuss was all about. As evidenced by their works and by their journal, the *molodomuztsi* were anything but decadent, and, certainly, they remained true sons of their fathers, never forgetting their duty toward Ukraine. As a barometer, *Svit* indicates that modernism as an aesthetic and philosophical movement never really captured Ukraine, individual exceptions notwithstanding. Although symbolism and futurism came later, after 1917, they were already part of a different world outlook heavily tinged with the psychology of a national revival and must be studied as a separate literary period.

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19 Rudnytsky, "Shcho take 'Moloda Muza'," p. xvii.
20 Rubchak, "Probnyi let," p. 28.

The Modernist Ideology and Mykola Khvyl'ovyi

OLEH S. ILNYTZKYJ

The traditional division of Ukrainian literature into pre- and postrevolutionary periods, although valid and necessary, does tend to obscure the fact that literary borders between these two periods were more porous than most histories care to admit. Prerevolutionary trends persevered well into the new political era, giving the literary front a semblance of ideological and stylistic continuity for several years. The periodicals of 1917–1920 are a good testament of this. Journals like *Shliakh*, *Knyhar*, *Literaturno-krytychnyi al'manakh*, and *Muzahet* were in effect literary bridges that ferried modernist and quasi-symbolist writings (along with their representatives) into the 1920s. Even the first Soviet publications—*Mystetstvo* and *Shliakhy mystetstva*—did not escape this influence. Just how tenacious the modernist ideology was can be gauged from the article "Shukannia" (Searching), which appeared in December 1918 in *Literaturno-krytychnyi al'manakh*. The author, I. Maidan (D. Zahul) offers a rather hackneyed recitation of modernist verities, beginning, typically, by citing Edgar Allen Poe's definition of poetry as "the rhythmical creation of beauty." He insists that "every poet must be the creator of beauty," that "Beauty is an absolute, an ideal," and that the slogan "L'art pour l'art" "even now has not lost its relevance." "An artist dare not pander to the tastes of the general public," continues Zahul, railing simultaneously against "publicist-patriots" who demand patriotic works from novelists and force poets to write "dithyrambs in honor and glory of the nation, its past and its future." "Many of our coryphaei," he points out, "have gone into the service of this renaissance and thereby have abandoned pure, self-orienting art; they have become greater patriots than poets." "No other literature has as much publicistic writing and, most of all, [so many] ethnographic elements as the Ukrainian."[1] Variations on these themes were to appear again in *Muzahet* (May 1919) and elsewhere.

While such avowals of aestheticism and disparagement of the masses as appeared in Zahul's article quickly become perilous in the new political climate, other elements of modernist ideology survived well intact among large groups of intellectuals. These people were invariably "elitists,"

[1] *Literaturno-krytychnyi al'manakh* (Kiev), bk. 1 (1918): 22–25.

believed in a European orientation for Ukrainian culture, had visions of creating a sophisticated national art, and were determined to fend off all manifestations of provincialism and crudely utilitarian literature. They, it could be said, faced their own version of the old modernist bane—populism (*narodnytstvo*), except that it now went under the name of proletarian (Marxist) art. The great Literary Debate of 1925–1928 offers any number of tantalizing analogies to the modernist polemics that occurred before the First World War, recapitulating in one form or another the friction of Voronyi's generation with Franko, Iefremov, and Nechui-Levyts'kyi; Moloda Muza's estrangement from the conservative literary circles of Galicia; *Ukrains'ka khata*'s struggle with the newspaper *Rada* and with *Literaturno-naukovyi visnyk*; and, finally, even Semenko's futurist rebellion of 1914. The typological and ideological similarities in all these cases should allow us to consider the Literary Debate of the 1920s not as an isolated event triggered by immanent Soviet circumstances but as the culmination of literary and cultural processes begun at the turn of the century.

For the purposes of this paper, I will limit myself to Mykola Khvyl'ovyi, the central figure of the Literary Debate, leader of VAPLITE (a "free *academy* of proletarian art") whose pithy slogans—*Evropa, Prosvita, Masovizm, Olimpiitsi*—echo arguments of a bygone era. His recently published letters to Mykola Zerov, as well as the pamphlet *Ukraina chy Malorosia* (until now assumed to have been irrevocably lost), show that he had a close affinity for certain aspects of the modernist ideology. His writings place him in the line of preceding Young Turks bent on redefining Ukrainian culture along European lines.

It is worth recalling that Khvyl'ovyi's rivals were first to link his pamphlets to the prerevolutionary literary processes. In 1925 Oleksander Doroshkevych had accused Khvyl'ovyi of being an "epigone of [a] modernistic-aesthetic Europe."[2] Curiously, at a time when others were debunking Modernism from the point of view of the new Marxist ideology, Khvyl'ovyi saw fit to defend the movement in his *Dumky proty techii* (cf. the chapter "Kul'turynyi epihonizm").[3] As we now know, the ideas he expressed in these essays were first aired in letters to the neoclassicist Mykola Zerov, an interesting fact in itself.[4] Khvyl'ovyi offers an even stronger apologia for Modernism in the highly controversial *Ukraina chy*

2 "Shche slovo pro Evropu," *Zhyttia i revoliutsiia*, 1925, no. 6-7, p. 66.

3 *Dumky proty techii*. Pamflety (Kharkiv, 1926).

4 Cf. *Radians'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 1990, nos. 7 and 8, pp. 3–15 and pp. 11–25, respectively.

Malorosiia.[5] Here Khvyl'ovyi virtually embraced comparisons being made by his opponents between VAPLITE and Modernism. True, he did not think the analogies were entirely apt, regarding them as attempts by his adversaries to "compromise our movement in the eyes of the Party,"[6] but he nonetheless asserted that Modernism had been a "healthy, logical and an inevitable stage in the process of social differentiation [and] the awakening of new social forces."[7] He praised "the greatest of the Moloda Muza writers," Mykhailo Iatskiv, for playing a prominent role "in the struggle against philistinism."[8] "The fundamental tendency of our Modernism was... entirely correct. The orientation was on the 'real Europe.' "[9] Modernism, he said, brought Ukraine closer to Europe.[10] Comparisons drawn between VAPLITE and *Ukrains'ka khata*—critics had spoken of "хатянський європеїзм ВАПЛІТЕ"[11] ("a *khata*-like Europeanism of VAPLITE")—were met with the following rejoinder:

> ... If we are "khatiany," then those who are not with us are necessarily in the grips of provincialism.... For what is "khatianstvo"? Was it not a potentially westernizing orientation? Hence, *in this sense we really do see it as our precursor*....[12]

As we see, Khvyl'ovyi acknowledged a certain consonance between his position and those of the Modernists. The most telling similarities concerned two of his key ideas: the need for a European orientation and its corollary—the obligation to struggle with provincialism.

In his letters to Zerov, Khvyl'ovyi reveals that he put great stock in the Modernists' concept of art. What is particularly interesting, and at first glance rather paradoxical, is that he attributes extraordinary *civic* meaning to the modernist position, seeing it as a contribution to nationbuilding. The Modernists, he argues, played a more important role in this respect than even Franko. So illuminating are his thoughts in these letters that I will venture to quote from them at some length:

> ... When I think of specific individuals in our literature who were enthralled by aestheticism, I come to the conclusion that Ievshan, Semenko and Voronyi represent tragic moments in our nation's history. If we consider the conditions under which

[5] Cf. *Slovo i Chas*, 1990, no. 1, pp. 7–31, and *Vitchyzna*, 1990, nos. 1 and 2, pp. 179–188 and 168–178, respectively.

[6] *Vitchyzna*, 1990, no. 1, p. 182.

[7] *Vitchyzna*, 1990, no. 1, p. 182.

[8] *Vitchyzna*, 1990, no. 1, p. 183.

[9] *Vitchyzna*, 1990, no. 1, p. 183.

[10] "«модерністська» гігантомахія... наблизила до нас європейські далі..., *Vitchyzna*, 1990, no. 1, p. 183.

[11] *Vitchyzna*, 1990, no. 2, p. 169.

[12] *Vitchyzna*, 1990, no. 2, p. 177. (Here and elsewhere the emphases are mine—OSI).

our nation grew and developed, if we consider the horrible reactionary atmosphere in which, say, Voronyi lived, then there can be nothing strange about the fact that our aesthetes were inclined to take extreme positions.... [Oleksander] Doroshkevych says Ukrainian aestheticism was not influential. But does that mean that it was "asocial" (*ahromads'kym*)?.... I attribute to the representatives of our modernistic Europe an enormous *civic meaning* because I look at things not from the point of view of those syrupy-sweet principles of *populism which retard national development* but from a deep understanding of the *national question.* I dare say that this "cursed question" will cease to stand in the way of progress only when the nation can fully express itself, when, to be more specific, its art attains the highest aesthetic values. In this respect, the Voronyis and Ievshans were a genuine civic phenomenon, one could say, a red [i.e., communist—OSI] one. For me, the celebrated "peasant" Franko, as an artist, is less dear, than, let us say...the aesthete Semenko, this tragic figure...of our regressive reality. Both Kobylians'ka and members of Moloda Muza are stages [in the history] of our *art*, while Dr. Franko is an episode, perhaps, even a bright one, [in the history] of [our] *civic life.*[13]

At this point in his letter, Khvyl'ovyi goes on to praise Panteleimon Kulish, a figure beloved by the Modernists, especially by the critics of *Ukrains'ka khata.* His criticism of Franko, however, must have elicited a shocked response from Zerov, for in the next letter Khvyl'ovyi is compelled to elaborate:

One would have to be a big ignoramus not to appreciate the work of this giant of our culture.... At the same time, even though Franko was a brilliant milestone in our civic life and no mean artist himself, he remained far behind those ideas that were contained in the barbershop masterpieces of the "Voronyis" (парикмахерські шедеври "вороних")....[14] In Franko's work...the emphasis is placed on the culture of ideas (*kul'turu dumky*). Franko never took on himself that role which, say, Semenko-the-aesthete bravely assumed.... Franko never imagined that *in the name of solving the national problem*, Ukrainian *art* must, in the near future...pioneer a new artistic cycle.... In this sense Voronism, objectively, was not only a healthy civic reaction but was ahead of Franko.[15]

In another letter, Khvyl'ovyi adds: "...the appearance of Modernism was...a revolutionary event in the history of *literature*, and hence also in the history of the *nation.*"[16]

Khvyl'ovyi obviously defends the Modernists' concern with *art in and of itself* as a socially constructive activity and argues that there is a relationship between the attainment of the highest aesthetic values and complete

13 *Radians'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 1989, no. 7, p. 13.

14 The reference here is to Semenko's "Parykmakher" (1916), a poem in which O. Oles', M. Voronyi, and H. Chuprynka are satirized.

15 *Radians'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 1989, no. 8, p. 15.

16 *Radians'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 1989, no. 8, p. 19.

national self-expression. As we know, this linkage between art and the national question was Khvyl'ovyi's preeminent issue, one which was also the most politically controversial. That he viewed Modernism in the same way can hardly be surprising. But was this an imposition of his views on an earlier period, or, as I have been suggesting, was it really an extension of the modernist position?

Most discussions about Ukrainian Modernism note the apparent incongruity between the movement's espousal of Beauty, its disdain for "patriotic tirades," utilitarian art, and the equally strong patriotic strain. One is easily convinced of this by reading the Modernists of Western Ukraine, the poetry O. Oles', by recalling lines from Voronyi's verse ("Мій друже, я Красу люблю, як рідну Україну"), or by reading M. Sriblians'kyi, the unabashedly nationalistic critic from *Ukrains'ka khata*. These manifestations have normally been interpreted as a failing of Ukrainian Modernism, an inability of Ukrainian literature to shed completely its populist heritage, or as the inevitable response of poets to the unenviable political position of Ukraine. I would argue that these are not necessarily inadvertent or unprincipled deviations from the modernist ideology but a sign that the movement never intended to divest literature of its social or national obligations. These populist concepts were never really rejected by the Modernists; rather, a new interpretation was placed on them.

The truly innovative aspect of modernist ideology for Ukrainian literature rests on the fact that it severed art from its edifying and enlightening function (what Khvyl'ovyi would later call contemptuously "Prosvita"). It also liberated literature in a programmatic sort of way from its fixation on the visibly salient attributes of the Ukrainian identity (i.e., peasant and ethnographic themes). Modernism legitimized art as an autonomous pursuit that had nothing in common with the "masses" and which was to be measured by European (not simply nativistic) standards. This conceptual revolt was engineered by the young intelligentsia which now claimed art as its own independent domain that it singled out for active cultivation. However, in doing so, the modernist writer, as Khvyl'ovyi noted, did not become "asocial." The fact is he simply redefined his social responsibilities. Instead of serving the *narod* (the common man), he now saw himself as the servant of a *national culture*, a concept which only during the modernist period emerged as something distinct from the proverbial "people." It was this move away from the "people" to the "culture" that was at the root of all quarrels between Modernists and Populists who often construed this as tantamount to treason. The modernist writer, however, saw no inherent contradiction between the life of art and civic duty because he/she was now working on the assumption that *art itself was in the national interest*. This

view was succinctly put somewhat later by Bohdan Ihor Antonych when he said "Art—in and of itself—is a social value; a nation is obviously a society, therefore art by definition is also a national value."[17]

The newfound modernist concern with the national culture gave rise to a new phenomenon: disgruntlement with the native environment. It is worth emphasizing that only during the modernist period do we witness a systematic expression of dissatisfaction with things specifically Ukrainian. Only now is the harshest criticism reserved for one's own national obtuseness. The populist image of a noble "people" now metamorphoses into the ignoble "mob," from whom the intelligentsia must defend the achievements of culture. M. Sriblians'kyi, for example, railed in *Ukrains'ka khata* that "There is no culture in our past. . . . We shall not bow, the way the patriots demand, to our forefathers, who have left us only one inheritance—their stupidity, lack of principle, barbarism, and darkness."[18] Sriblians'kyi dubbed this "darkness" "Ukrainophilism" (*ukrainofil'stvo*). Khvyl'ovyi called it "Little-Russianism" (*malorosiianstvo*) and a host of other derogatory names.[19] Whatever the term, the battle cry was directed against an ersatz culture incapable of meeting European criteria. This "culture" was deemed an impediment to genuine nationhood.

Ukrainian Modernism clearly has other important features, but this idea was probably its most powerful. It influenced cultural developments for more than two and a half decades and, in many respects, remains to this very day a popular model of what Ukrainian literature should be.

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[17] "Natsional'ne mystetstvo," *Karby*, 1933, p. 5.

[18] Quoted from P. Bohats'kyi, M. Shapoval, and A. Zhyvotko, *Ukrains'ka khata (1909–1914)* (New York, 1955), p.14.

[19] E.g., *masovizm, pluzhans'kyi analfebetyzm, narodnytstvo, bezvykhidne boloto narodnytstva, psevdointernatsionalizm, khokhlandiia, Prosvita, hrinchenkivshchyna, pylypenkivshchyna, vulharnyi marksyzm.*

Modernism in Ukrainian Prose

MAXIM TARNAWSKY

Modernism in Ukrainian literature is poorly defined and inaccurately conceived. This is true of all labels in cultural history, and literary periodization, always a difficult and somewhat arbitrary exercise, is no exception. The conceptualization of Ukrainian Modernism is problematic not only in this formal manner but also in its useful practical application.

Regardless of our theoretical view of the nature, function, and value of stylistic literary periodization, the practical utility and colloquial currency of this tool is beyond doubt. We use it in the classroom, we use it in professional conversation, and we use it in our attempts to bridge the gap between literary studies and the other humanities. In this overall sense, Ukrainian Modernism is an established fact. In a narrower sense it is a label we use to characterize collectively the features of two literary groupings: Moloda Muza and *Ukrajins'ka xata*. In a wider sense we use it to describe the general change in Ukrainian literature that occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century. This change involved several factors, among them: 1) an emphasis on the aesthetic rather than the social function of literature; 2) a focus on urban rather than village readers and, therefore, subjects; 3) a focus on the individual as a unique being rather than a member of a community; and 4) a sense of crisis in human existence, a break with the past.

While there is general agreement among students of Ukrainian literature that such a change occurred at the beginning of this century, there is no working consensus on the dimensions of this change. This is particularly true in prose. With the notable exception of realism, the periodization of Ukrainian literature is generally measured according to its poetry. Modernism is usually conceived as a movement that encompasses such writers as Voronyj, Luckyj, Karmans'kyj, Pačovs'kyj, and Oles'. In my own lectures I generally follow this approach. It is a fair, workable solution to the problems inherent in the question. Modernism is Moloda Muza and *Ukrajins'ka xata*. Everything else is something different. But, then, Modernism is not a period designator. It identifies only a group. Of course, what makes these writers a single group is a common idea of the nature and function of literature, a shared ideology. The moment we try to identify the components of this ideology, however, we find ourselves opening the group to writers other than those who were members of Moloda Muza or who cooperated with

Ukrajins'ka xata. Or we don't find significant or sufficient links between the members of the group.

This same dilemma occurs with terminology. Among various authors who write about turn-of-the-century Ukrainian literature, the term "modernism," for political or other reasons, appears to be inappropriate. Other terms are found to take its place. Even among authors who do not themselves discard the term, modernism is often seen to be synonymous with decadence, symbolism, neoromanticism, or even those semimeaningless terms, impressionism and expressionism. Still others produce learned studies to establish that Ukrainian Modernism is, in fact, something other than itself.[1] All of these intellectual cartwheels are, of course, the result of a general lack of consensus on the definition of the term.

Ukrainian literature is not alone in this dilemma. In the English-speaking world definitions of modernism range from a group of particular authors (most notably, Yeats, Joyce, Eliot, Pound) to a general inclination toward Promethean rebelliousness that includes writers and thinkers from all times and all cultures. But even among critics who attack the idea or try to appropriate it for particular goals, there is a general notion that certain writers at the beginning of the twentieth century share a number of stylistic and ideological characteristics that allow them to be grouped under the heading of modernists. A similar consensus can be fostered in Ukrainian literature, provided the terms of reference are clearly identified. Although such a task is clearly beyond the limits of a single paper, we can, even in a limited forum, examine some of the chief characteristics of this proposed definition. I limit my remarks here to the problems that arise in Ukrainian prose, but these are not substantially different from those in other genres.

The first issue that arises in dealing with modernist prose in Ukrainian is chronology. If we limit Modernism to the narrow confines of Moloda Muza and *Ukrajins'ka xata*, then we have Myxajlo Jackiv and, maybe, Hnat Xotkevyč and almost no one else. While somewhat embarrassing, this absence of modernist prose in Ukrainian literature does not pose a theoretical problem, except that it is difficult to establish any intellectual and literary criteria that distinguish these two writers from many of their contemporaries. In particular, it is generally assumed that one of the key features of modernist prose is antitraditional technical experimentation. That is precisely what Georg Lukacs is speaking of when he argues that "modernism leads not only to the destruction of traditional literary forms; it leads to the destruction of literature as such. . . . Modernism means not the

[1] Tamara Hundorova, "Rannij ukrajins'kyj modernizm: Do problemy estetyčnoji svidomosti," *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 1989, no. 12, pp. 3–7.

enrichment, but the negation of art."[2] Whether or not we agree with Lukacs's judgment, the features he describes in Joyce, Proust, and Kafka are not central in Jackiv and Xotkevyč. Other Ukrainian prose writers, however, consistently introduce technical innovations. Among these are Myxajlo Kocjubyns'kyj, Jurij Janovs'kyj, and Majk Johansen. The latter two, significantly, bring us into the 1920s, a period into which Modernism must extend.

The underlying cause of modernist innovation and technical experimentation in Western European literature is a general attempt to break away from the real or apparent constraints of the past. For Joyce or Proust, the social agenda of late nineteenth-century realism is not an acceptable aesthetic system. But in Ukrainian literature, the revolt against realism is not merely an aesthetic position but also, fundamentally, a political one. Neither Joyce nor Proust need to defend the legitimacy of the creative intelligentsia or its role in determining the cultural agenda. In Ukraine the situation is different. The aesthetics of realism are tied to the politics of populism. The poetic debate between Voronyj and Franko and the essays of Jefremov clearly show the political nature of the prevailing cultural criteria that the Modernists attack. Thus, the modernist writer in Ukraine rebels not only against literary realism but against political populism as well. This rebellion still occurs within the context of a Ukrainian national awakening. The mere choice of Ukrainian as a language of literature and intelligent discourse is still, well into the 1920s, a deliberate act of national allegiance. This is bountifully reflected in the many works from the 1910s and 1920s, where nationality and language appear within otherwise unrelated thematic clusters. Prostitution, mechanization, international espionage, and a flood of similar issues appear with a specifically Ukrainian dimension. Ukrainian Modernism is, therefore, limited in the degree of its rebelliousness. Like the runaway child who can't cross the street, Ukrainian Modernists are hemmed in by their loyalty. They reject realism and they reject populism, but they endorse the national awakening. That combination necessarily limits the degree of innovation a writer can introduce into his or her work.

This is evident in the chronology of technical experiments in prose. The most dramatic innovations are introduced in the late 1920s in works such as Johansen's *Podorož učenoho doktora Leonardo...* and Jurij Janovs'kyj's

[2] Georg Lukacs, "The Ideology of Modernism," in *Backgrounds to Modern Literature*, ed. John Oliver Perry (San Francisco, 1968), p. 271. Lionel Trilling shares some of the same sentiments but without the same ideological prejudices: "On the Modern Element in Modern Literature," in *The Idea of the Modern in Literature and the Arts*, ed. Irving Howe (New York, 1967), pp. 59–82.

Majster Korablja, both published in 1930, as well as in some of the works of Geo Škurupij, also from this period. All of these authors are still rebelling against realism as an aesthetic doctrine, but they are no longer confronting political populism. The national awakening is either an accomplished fact or a dead issue, but certainly not a cause that requires public declarations of loyalty. Twenty and even fifteen years earlier, this was not the case. Even as innovative a writer as Myxajlo Kocjubyns'kyj, whose works are a clear departure from the traditions of Ukrainian and Western European realism, cannot make a radical break with the past. Except for the short poem in prose, his works are entirely traditional in their genre. Indeed, in his longer works, such as *Fata morgana* or *Tini zabutyx predkiv*, he is not far removed from Ivan Franko and Nečuj-Levyc'kyj. Unlike them, Kocjubyns'kyj does not focus paramount attention on the national awakening, but his consistent attention to social issues, particularly the interaction between the community and the individual, is a direct response to populist ideology. There is even less distance between the technique of the old realists and that of Xotkevyč, Jackiv, or even Stefanyk. Although they deliberately attack the credulous piety of populist realists, the tools they employ, except for the very short genre, are hardly different from those in the hands of their opponents.

Despite this limitation on the technical level, rebellion against the past is still the major force defining Ukrainian Modernism. But it is in ideas rather than techniques that this rebellion manifests itself. One of the clearest symptoms of this rebellion is the hostility with which it is greeted by the self-appointed guardians of the old traditions. Indeed, this hostility is a reliable touchstone in determining the modernist lineup. One of the immediate consequences of this maneuver is the inclusion of Ol'ha Kobyljans'ka. For Jefremov, in particular, she was one of the chief culprits in the abandonment of the traditional good causes that were so dear to his heart.

Kobyljans'ka's significance to Ukrainian Modernism is larger than just the addition of her name to a list of writers. Her stature is such that she immediately gives new life to the idea of modernist prose in the prerevolutionary period. More significant than the quality of her work is the link she provides with what is surely one of the principal wellsprings of modernism throughout all of Europe, namely, the works of Friedrich Nietzsche. The obvious influence of his ideas, even if in a somewhat misunderstood form, in her works provides the ideological foundation for much of the rebellion that characterizes early Ukrainian Modernism.

Early in the twentieth century Friedrich Nietzsche was a popular figure, particularly in Western Ukraine. But his ideas were generally misunderstood or acquired in a diluted form. Even in this limited understanding,

Nietzsche was further pigeonholed according to local conditions. Generally, the popular view of Nietzsche in Ukraine was as the creator of the superman, rather than as the defender of base human instincts. This was, to a degree, a result of the cultural politics of the time. For young modernist writers, Nietzsche was a weapon against the populist agenda. He was their shield against cultural decay, ethnographic primitivism, and social relevance in art. This is evident in their programmatic statements on the function of art and the primacy of aesthetic values. The Moloda Muza, with their strong links to Polish Modernists and through them to Nietzsche, offers a good example. In their manifesto, Ostap Luc'kyj declares:

> It is characteristic of the last decades that in all fields of human thought old truths and concepts are breaking down. The unusually (for a philosopher) popularized Nietzsche has sent his Zarathustra out into the wide circle of contemporary world society, and he, perhaps even more than all previous oracles, has made everyone who has met him notice that we are approaching the time of analytical inspection of many of our concepts about matters of the utmost interest to us in our lives. . . . The new feverish inspection has begun; dogma after dogma has fallen into the abyss of forgetfulness, or into the corner of more or less living memories; and beneath this pulsed the main source of the current crisis and misery—the tumor of the entire contemporary social order.[3]

The old truths and concepts here are those of populism. Ivan Franko, the champion of art for social improvement, understood this when he derided Luc'kyj and his current crisis: "Nietzsche did indeed experience such a crisis—and it drove him into an asylum."[4] The conflict between populist and Nietzschean values was evident to the populists also. Serhij Jefremov, the champion of populism in literature, uses Nietzsche to diminish the reputation of the writer Ol'ha Kobyljans'ka.

> In her youth she experienced a large influence from Nietzsche, with his ultra-individualistic philosophy, and Kobyljans'ka in her works became his faithful disciple. . . . She depicts characters, mostly women, with a "longing for beauty" and an impulse to attain heights, traits which are understood as a specific "aristocratism of the spirit" that attempts to rise from the level of the mundane, of "stupid vile souls," of "the mob" and to "soar far, far away," somewhere, to the level of above-earthly feelings and above-human experiences. Kobyljans'ka's heroes are all this kind of "aristocrats of the spirit." They want to embody the ideal of the above-human [superman, MT]: "to be, above all, a goal unto oneself" and "not to care for the masses."[5]

[3] Ostap Luc'kyj, "Moloda muza," Dilo, 18 November 1907, reprinted in *Ostap Luc'kyj—Molodomuzets'*, ed. Jurij Luc'kyj (New York, 1968), p. 55.
[4] Ivan Franko, "Manifest 'Molodo muzy'," in *Zibrannja tvoriv u p''jatdesjaty tomax* (Kiev, 1976–86), 37:412.
[5] Serhij Jefremov, *Istorija ukrajins'koho pys'menstva* (Leipzig, 1919), 2:263–64.

Reflections of the polarity between populist social and aesthetic values and diluted Nietzschean ideas can be found scattered throughout Ukrainian literature of the first two decades of the twentieth century. In many works, this polarity is depicted in the conflict between the individual, especially the artistic, creative individual, and the community in which he lives. Kocjubyns'kyj's *Tini zabutyx predkiv* and Vynnyčenko's *Česnist' z soboju* are examples of such works. Occasionally antipopulist rebellion is reduced to its simplest form: depictions of the brutality and lack of dignity of the common man. Kocjubyns'kyj does this in a number of his works, including "Smix," "Posol vid čornoho carja," and *Fata morgana.* Even Vynnyčenko, for all his socialist inclinations, occasionally depicts the lower classes as wild animals, particularly in such early stories as "Holod." All of this is in marked and deliberate contrast to the image that we find in Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, Myrnyj, Franko, and others of the dignified suffering of the downtrodden peasants or workers and the unwavering dedication of the intellectual who struggles for the liberation and protection of his oppressed brethren. But the fact remains that the issues are still those of the populists. Only the values have changed. For example, the relationship of the intellectual to the community is depicted in many modernist works. The leadership theme, if we may call it that, occurs in Kobyljans'ka, Kocjubyns'kyj, Vynnyčenko, Lesja Ukrajinka, and many others. But Franko and Nečuj-Levyc'kyj also addressed this question in such works as *Mojsej* and *Xmary.* Ukrainian Modernists, pursuing a course that Stephen Spender calls "the revolutionary concept of tradition,"[6] fall back on a selected tradition and infuse it with new values.

A relatively unknown work of Hnat Xotkevyč, recently published in Kiev, offers a good example of the dependence of Ukrainian Modernism on populist traditions. Xotkevyč's *Aviron*,[7] first published in 1917, is clearly a belletristic answer to Franko's *Mojsej.* It tells the story of the gradual disillusionment of this naïve young follower of Moses during the period of Moses' communion with Jehovah on Mount Sinai and immediately after. Thus, Xotkevyč retells the same biblical ten commandments story that Franko does, but from a different perspective. Where Franko focuses on the inner struggle of the leader who must overcome his own self-doubt and the doubts of his followers, Xotkevyč focuses on the disillusionment that comes from the realization that Moses is merely a man and the policies he

[6] "The Modern as Vision of a Whole Situation," in *Backgrounds to Modern Literature*, ed. John Oliver Perry (San Francisco, 1968), p. 234.

[7] *Kyjiv*, 1990, no. 7, pp. 63–93, and Hnat Xotkevyč, *Aviron. Dovbuš. Opovidannja* (Kiev, 1990), pp. 5–61.

implements are calculated political strategies designed to diffuse opposition and maintain authority. Characteristically, the story ends with an intoxicated Moses diplomatically leading the young Abiram, who has been accepted as an assistant in the construction of the tabernacle, out of the tent where Moses and the sculptor Beselius have been reveling and are about to receive maidens assembled for their pleasure. The debauchery of these men, whom Abiram had presumed to be saintly, precipitates a final disillusionment and leads the young man to question the goodness and existence of God.

A key moment in the story occurs when Abiram is apprenticed to Beselius. The sculptor, a callous but intelligent man, mutters about the cruelty of punishing so many Israelites while he and Aaron, the men most responsible for the creation of the golden calf, go unpunished. In anger, or perhaps only in jest, he deliberately shapes a grotesque figure of an angel and shows it to Abiram, who is horrified at the sacrilegious impudence of the master. Moses enters and sees the figure.

"А це що ти тут наробив?"—спитав Моїсей, зупинившися перед херувимом, притуленим до стіни.

І ждав Авірон, що нахмуряться брови великого пророка, що блискавиця вийде з очей і поразить святотатця, що покажеться ж правда господня.... Але нічого не сталося.... Замість гніву—вибух сміхом Моїсей і реготав, упершися в боки, аж хитався всім дебелим тілом своїм. А Веселіїл, зберігаючи серйозну міну, хоч очі в нього бризкали сміхом, говорив роблено суворим голосом:

"Це ж бог тобі. Я тобі добре зробив тельця, навіщо ти спалив його? А херувимів я робити не вмію."

І двоє старих стояли й реготали з святині Ізраїля, з уповань на нього....

"А цей дурник питає: чи це так воно й зостанеться? А що ж, кажу, йолопе, гадаєш, що буду переробляти? А не діждеш ні ти, ні твій Моїсей!"—і знов старі реготали, здоровим дужим сміхом міцної старості.

А потім узяв Моїсей янгола і, поплескуючи його по носі, від чого ніс зробився зовсім ні на що не похожим, сказав:

"Ану-ну, покажи цьому молодикові, що значить сила господня, котру дав тобі в руки господь!"—і знову вони реготали, аж сльози виступали у них на очах.

Зручним рухом підхопив Веселіїл янгола, поставив його перед собою й почав водити пальцями по лиці. І здавалося, що грався він, роблячи безліч непотрібних рухів: то вивертав кумедно палець, то врізувався в глину твердим, як залізо, нігтем, то швидко-швидко тер одне місце, і все не переставав приговорювати всякі дурниці. Відхиливши голову та прищуливши очі, приглядався до роботи, аж нарешті різким рухом відкинувши ввесь корпус, відійшов Веселіїл і крикнув:

"Ану, дивись тепер дурню!"

Авірон глянув—і не знав, що тут сталося справді: чи сила господня, чи чарування якесь?!

На нього скорботно дивилося божественне лице.[8]

"And what have you done here?" asked Moses, stopping before the cherub, which was leaning against the wall.

And Abiram waited for the great prophet's brows to darken, for lightning to flash from his eyes and strike the blasphemer, for the Lord's justice to show itself. . . . But instead of anger, Moses exploded and roared with laughter, holding his sides while his entire stout body shook. Beselius kept a serious face, although his eyes sparkled with glee, and spoke with affected sternness:

"This is god for you. I made you a good calf, what did you go and burn it for? Cherubs I don't know how to make."

And the two old men stood and laughed at Israel's sacred treasures, at the hope they elicited.

"And this blockhead asks: 'Is it going to stay like that?' And I tell him 'Do you think, you fool, that I'm going to do it over? You won't live to see the day. Not you nor your Moses either!' " and again the two roared with the loud strong laughter of healthy old age.

And then Moses took the angel and patting it on the nose with his finger, which completely disfigured the nose, said:

"Well, why don't you show this youngster what power the Lord has put into your hands," and again they roared until tears welled up in their eyes.

With a graceful motion Beselius snapped up the angel and put it in front of himself. He began to run his fingers over its face. He seemed to be playing, making countless pointless motions, turning his fingers in a comical gesture, cutting into the clay with his fingernails, hard as iron, or very quickly rubbing one spot, while continuing with his senseless muttering. Leaning back with his head and squinting his eyes he examined his work until, finally, throwing the whole piece down with a sudden gesture, he stepped back and said:

"Well, stupid, have a look!"

Abiram glanced and did not know what had happened. Was this God's power or some kind of magic? A sorrowful heavenly face was looking at him.

In this passage, Xotkevyč not only disparages the stature of community leaders (something he does throughout the story as part of the program of turning Franko's portrait on its head) but also examines the role of the artist in relation to the community and to the leaders of the community. In a characteristically modernist gesture, Beselius asserts the independence of art and the artist. He changes the standards of aesthetic appreciation. He deliberately creates a work of art that will be perceived as ugly. Even more significant than the deformity of the cherub, however, is Beselius's refusal to serve any master other than his own judgment. He tells Moses that the golden calf was a beautiful work of art, and Moses shouldn't have destroyed it. As a good modernist, Xotkevyč believes that art should be free of

[8] Xotkevyč, *Aviron. Dovbuš. Opovidannja*, pp. 58–59.

social obligations. But when Moses asks him to show the boy the power of God that is in the hands of the artist, Beselius complies and creates a beautiful and moving angel. The power of art to affect man and to change the world is a characteristically romantic notion to which Modernists subscribe without hesitation. But Beselius, and, with him, Xotkevyč, are now back in the service of the social cause. Xotkevyč allows the artist to assert his independence from the social cause, but he does not let him actually abandon it. The world is still being viewed from the perspective of a confirmed believer, even though at the end of the story Abiram has lost his faith.

Xotkevyč's story exemplifies the relationship of the Ukrainian modernist author to the past. Characteristically, the work is conceived as a rejection of the past, a rebellion against it. But the rebellion is almost wholly absorbed with its denial of the past. There is no room for an assertion of its own values. The agenda of Ukrainian Modernism, at least in its early period, is determined by the past it rejects. Xotkevyč opposes Franko by rewriting his *Mojsej*, which is itself a rewrite of the biblical story. At the end of the story, Abiram is on the verge of a final break with Moses and with God. But there is no assertion of new values. Like Xotkevyč himself, Abiram can reject his adversary only on Moses' terms. In its technical and intellectual foundations, the story does not break new ground. It is a traditional naturalist narrative without any discernible influence from Nietzsche, Freud, Marx, or any of the other legendary demons of modernism.

In summary then, Ukrainian modernist prose is characteristically a weak phenomenon in the last years of the nineteenth century and in the first three decades of the twentieth. Within this time span we can clearly speak of two periods, roughly prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary. The telling difference between these two periods is in the level of technical and intellectual experimentation, a feature which, ironically, seems to be dependent on the underlying commitment to the idea of a Ukrainian national awakening. The driving idea of Ukrainian Modernism is the rejection of populism and village realism. To a certain degree, Nietzschean ideas play a significant if indirect role in this rejection, but the channels of this influence are shallow, narrow, and very muddy. The influence of other seminal thinkers, often evidenced in modernist writers in Western Europe, is not apparent. Finally, Ukrainian Modernism is not an exclusive aesthetic and intellectual current at this time. On the one hand, longevity makes living anachronisms of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj and Myrnyj. On the other hand, an alternative tradition makes modernism share the literary stage with psychological realism and

revolutionary romanticism. This competition is part of what makes the later modernist period more vibrant. But in this period, as in the earlier one, Ukrainian Modernism is in a precarious alliance with political forces whose goals do not include ugly cherubs.

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Commentary: Exorcising Ukrainian Modernism

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> The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of Angels & God, and at liberty when of Devils & Hell, is because he was a True Poet and of the Devil's party without knowing it.
>
> (William Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*)

For all its apparent limitations—especially a somewhat *ad hoc* and hardly systematic focus—and for all the deeper problems that are barely touched upon, the present discussion of Ukrainian Modernism may well be a significant step toward addressing the fundamental issue of Ukrainian literary studies. That issue is nothing less than the reassessment of the canon of Ukrainian literature. Given the two-fold historical reality that, first, the prerevolutionary sense of the canon of Ukrainian literature was hardly consensual or conscious (and more a *fait accompli* of such histories as Jefremov's)[1] and, second, the collapse of the Soviet order now brings with it an implosion of historical scholarship and a melding, as rapid as it is uncritical, of the Soviet with the non- or anti-Soviet literary-historical traditions (each in its own way exclusionary, dogmatic, and Manichaean), we should, in fact, be speaking not of a reassessment of the canon but of its creation, entirely anew. The process, clearly, has already begun in Ukraine, with, characteristically, the primary focus on the basic reconstitution of the record, on simply filling in the "blank spots" (or, as some poets have corrected it, the "bloody spots") in a literature devastated by seven decades of the Soviet experiment.[2] Understandably, too, the conceptualization of a new canon—or even merely a more analytical approach to literary history—is difficult; more than just working against entrenched dogmas and ingrained and largely unconscious stereotypes, it means, essentially, working without a sophisticated theory or methodology.[3] In the gamut of historical periods and topics, it is only the early Soviet period, the decimated renascence of the 1920s, that receives concerted revisionist attention.

[1] Serhij Jefremov, *Istorija ukrajins'koho pys'menstva* (Kiev and Leipzig, 1919).

[2] See, for example, the permanent rubric, "Pys'mennyky Ukrajiny—žertvy stalins'kyx represij," in the Kiev weekly *Literaturna Ukrajina* for the year 1991.

[3] A striking example of this is the attempt at reevaluating Socialist Realism. Cf. *Radians'ke literaturoznavstovo*, 1989, no. 8, pp. 3–24.

(While this appears more an elemental than a programmatic priority, it is also undeniably correct, for it focuses on the first act, the paradigm of the Soviet depradations, and at the same time entails a cathartic and traditional, albeit still problematic, identification of literature with martyrology.[4]) The preceding decades, the period of so-called Modernism, though hardly at center stage, have also been afforded a degree of rehabilitation.[5] One hopes that the present discussion may contribute toward the establishment of a new consensus and, in time, a new canon of Ukrainian literary history.

An examination of a constituent part invariably draws on a sense (albeit implicit or intuitive) of the whole. In earlier non-Soviet treatments of Ukrainian Modernism, and in this discussion as well, one sees an implicit acceptance of the received paradigm of Ukrainian literary history—even while the manifest (populist, Soviet) values of that paradigm are roundly rejected. The issue of a canon, and all that it circumscribes, appears as a devilish (in the native tradition, Gogolian) enchanted circle from which one cannot escape unless one reconceptualizes—demystifies, exorcises—the intellectual space of the drama in question. At issue, specifically, is not just the fact, which is touched upon or alluded to by all the discussants, that Ukrainian Modernism was demonized by its populist, civic-minded, and utilitarian contemporaries and by its later, equally populist but much more reductive and vulgar, Soviet critics; more to the point is the demonization of the process, of the very mode of identification and definition, of Ukrainian literary history. Again, the division into Manichaean opposites, into Soviet and émigré, or, even more basically, into "progressive" and "reactionary" forces, was but the surface, the setting for the morality play. The deeper structure, the plot and script, was the identification of literature and its inspiration and essence and meaning with the demon of ideology—and, even more significantly, not just with ideology in the conventional sense of a system of thought and values but in the broadest sense of manifest attitudes and positions, and, beyond that still, the exclusionary (as well as moralistic and idealistic) premise of integrity. One could, in short, be in either the camp of the devils or the camp of the angels, one could be either a "decadent" or a "realist," or one could move from one to the other (and be praised or damned for it). But one could not remain in both; their marriage was quite unthinkable. For Ukrainian literature and culture, given its historical complexity and particularly its periodic and systemic syncretism, this exclusionary model of canon-building seems singularly inappropriate. On

[4] See, for example, Mykola Žulyns'kyj's *Iz zabuttja—v bezsmertja* (Kiev, 1990).

[5] See Tamara Hundorova, "Rannij ukrajins'kyj modernizm. Do problemy estetyčnoji svidomosti," *Radians'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 1989, no. 12, pp. 3–7.

reflection, however—and here Modernism can serve as a telling and rewarding illustration—it may well have been inevitable.

Each of the three papers in this discussion addresses the question "What is Ukrainian Modernism?" with an eye to different specific problems but within an expanding focus, moving from the nature and quality of programmatic texts (the journal *Svit*) to the issue of intellectual and aesthetic legacy, and hence the question of the articulation and the meaning of modernist ideology, to, finally, the question of Modernism as a style and aesthetic system, specifically in prose but by extension in other genres as well. Some basic aspects tend to recur, in particular the opposition of Modernism/populism, which appears here as the major defining feature and point of consensus; others, such as the question of the historical and comparative context, arguably central to a conceptualization of the phenomenon, are barely touched upon. Both the opposition and the context merit closer examination. It may, however, be helpful first to reconsider some of the authors' conclusions and the light they shed on the basic question of definition.

Danylo Husar Struk's examination of the short-lived *Svit* is useful for the way in which it recapitulates not only the checkered content and fuzzy aspirations of this rather feckless journalistic venture but also the militantly parochial, indeed philistine, literary climate that assured its quick demise. If *Svit* was a barometer, as Struk argues, one must conclude that the pressure being measured was too negligible to constitute any weather at all and the instrument itself was not much more sophisticated than the tube used by Torricelli. The question that Struk's dismissive (although, judging from the narrative, amply justified) conclusion seems to beg is: To what extent was this bleary effort representative of the phenomenon of Ukrainian Modernism as a whole? Alternatively, if it was not representative, if "even the three most talented members of Moloda Muza. . . were at best second-rate authors," then the entire anatomization seems misdirected. In short, both we and the author share a profound, if seldom tested, conviction that—as with individual creativity—a broader, collective literary phenomenon such as a movement or school qualifies as historically significant only when it attains a certain (still to be determined) level of aesthetic achievement. (That this may at times be problematic, that a phenomenon like Socialist Realism—which by its very nature is limited in or bereft of aesthetic merit—may be historically quite significant is, of course, a separate issue.) To be sure, Struk does not base his judgment only on aesthetic criteria: quoting Rubchak, he notes the inability of the members of this stillborn group, and, presumably, of programmatic Ukrainian Modernism, to chose between the very antipodes they themselves conjured up—"art" and "social

duty." Their failure is taken to be both artistic and ideological.

Apart from the basic issue of typicality or of representation—let us grant for the moment that *Svit* and Moloda Muza were indeed perceived as representative of Ukrainian Modernism—there is the still more fundamental question of what kind of thing that Modernism was. For, as much as we are chary of establishing "essential" features, it is indispensable to have at least a preliminary, working sense of that phenomenon.

For Struk, the defining features are the program, the ideas, and the attitudes of those deemed to be within the canon of Ukrainian Modernism; his very focus on a journal (and particularly on its role as an organ, presumably defined solely by its stated mission) exemplifies the paradigm of Modernism-as-ideology. The textual (in effect, aesthetic) and the intentional are taken as complementary and sufficient bases for defining the phenomenon. However, while the literary-historical object and its rather modest impact are highlighted, the question of the literary process and the crucial question—not the overarching one of "What is Ukrainian Modernism?" but, here, the more specific and pressing—"When and on what basis does Modernism become significant?" (significant at least to merit our attention) remain unaddressed. For, as things stand and as Struk's conclusions certainly suggest, the "Modernism" represented by *Svit* and Moloda Muza is not significant in either the historical or the literary framework.

The other two papers go a long step further toward articulating this paradigm. For both Ilnytzkyj and Tarnawsky Ukrainian Modernism is implicitly and explicitly seen as an ideology (a stance and a poetics) that clearly transcends its historical time and cultural setting and reappears, with essentially the same qualities, in the Soviet 1920s. While breaking new ground, these papers also incorporate and reactivate various traditional, albeit "canonic," premises that, I submit, require basic reevaluation.

The main thrust of Oleh S. Ilnytzkyj's well-argued paper is to demonstrate an essential continuity between the pre- and postrevolutionary periods of Ukrainian literature and, by doing so and by focusing on the striking and complex figure of Xvyl'ovyj—the all-but-official guru of early Soviet Ukrainian literature, the canonized "founder" of its prose, later official *bête noire*, and now culture hero *nonpareil*—to discover in Ukrainian Modernism a vitality and centrality that few, and certainly not its various detractors, could have expected. His paper is also most direct and programmatic in stating the thesis of Ukrainian Modernism-as-ideology. While he notes at the outset that "prerevolutionary trends persevered well into the new political era, giving the literary front a semblance of ideological and stylistic continuity for several years," his focus is exclusively on the former kind of continuity. Given the fact that Xvyl'ovyj was not just the major spokesman

and organizer, critic and arbiter of the Ukrainian renascence of the 1920s but was also, arguably, its most avant-garde and productive prose writer—and thus the only Ukrainian writer of this period who could be ranked in stature with the paradigmatically modernist (as Tarnawsky subsequently puts it) Yeats, Joyce, Eliot, and Pound—it seems highly revealing that this essential side of him is ignored. And, since the issue is not Xvyl'ovyj (where such a delimitation would simply be wrong) but Ukrainian Modernism and its ramifications (for which reference points and criteria are being established *ab ovo*), we can only note how hypnotic the paradigm of ideology has become.

One of the first issues raised by Ilnytzkyj's paper concerns literary (and cultural) continuity. What establishes it and what constitutes sufficient ground upon which one can argue it? Is typological similarity sufficient? Can one infer from Xvyl'ovyj's apparent recapitulation and polemical use of ideas formulated in previous decades a continuation of modernist *ideology* or even its impact? While the Literary Debate of 1925–1928 may indeed offer, as Ilnytzkyj suggests, "any number of tantalizing analogies to the modernist polemics that occurred before the First World War" and while one may be disposed to accept the debate "not as an isolated event triggered by immanent Soviet circumstances but as the culmination of literary and cultural processes begun at the turn of the century" (such processes do, in fact, transcend literary and political periods and provide a matrix for them), what do these analogies, continuities, and similarities do for our model of Modernism? One rather unfortunate possibility is that, while expanding its range and again recommending it to our attention, they make it murkier.

One specific answer to some of these questions is that, while a continuum does exist, the actual cultural and social, not to say political, differences far outweigh the similarities. Xvyl'ovyj is not a Voronyj (although both were political activists and literary impresarios), and he is certainly nothing like the untalented and ineffectual *molodomuzci*. Aside from talent, however, and temperament (both his own and that of his age), there are the more fundamental issues of social role and the model of socio-literary activity. Not only did Xvyl'ovyj never attempt to liberate himself from a propaedeutic role, he avidly took upon himself (in a curious denial of the essentially oblique, questioning, almost solipsistically text-centered style of his fiction) the task of leading and exhorting, urging on and riding herd on his fellow writers. To be sure, there is interpenetration between these two stances, and the role of hectoring critic is made somewhat more palatable by ironic wit and whimsy.

As much as Xvyl'ovyj's style in art and life, and especially his last desperate and profoundly telling gesture, may echo an earlier modernist style, as ideologist (and this, to my mind, is clearly the lesser part of him) he is far removed from the modernist *Gestalt* as it appeared in the Ukrainian and, even more importantly, general East European context. Its most essential literary, as opposed to philosophical or culturological, feature—one that would be stated with greater or lesser militancy or, at the very least, implied—was a sense of the autonomy of both art and artist. Without that the notion of Modernism ceases to be coherent. For Xvyl'ovyj the ideologist (though certainly not the writer), this is not an issue. He is attuned to the social function of literature, to literature's role in effecting social change, social differentiation, and, ultimately, national existence. In *Ukrajina čy Malorosija* as a whole, and, literally, in the very passages cited by Ilnytzkyj, he clearly speaks of the earlier Modernism as a vehicle for such change and of Jackiv as exemplifying "the struggle against philistinism."[6] Thus, in Xvyl'ovyj's polemics there is no validation of the aesthetic in and of itself and no discussion of literature—whether of the past or the present—apart from its social, indeed political, function.

One could even go further and say that, while making positive references to Modernism as part of his polemics, Xvyl'ovyj, precisely as an ideologue, has much less in common with the Modernists than do their contemporary opponents, such as Franko. The reason, quite simply, is that the divide between the pre-Soviet and Soviet periods, the cultural and social space subsumed by each, is much more final and impermeable than both Ilnytzkyj and Tarnawsky suggest. As a result, the whole tenor of Xvyl'ovyj's discourse, the radical politization of his thought, is such that, despite surface analogies or similarities, it shares little with the previous age and is, in fact, a very different language. If Xvyl'ovyj does offer an "apologia for Modernism," as Ilnytzkyj claims (in itself a somewhat risky supposition), the content and the purpose he gives it are quite different from that which the Modernists themselves saw in it. And this leads us to the more fundamental issue: if Ukrainian Modernism is to have a coherent meaning, it simply cannot be taken out of its time.

The perils of identification-by-analogy, as signaled by the fact that Xvyl'ovyj's anti-*xutorjanstvo*, while shared with the Modernists, does not in itself make of him a Modernist, are also exposed in the example of Zerov. It is generally accepted that Zerov not only inspired Xvyl'ovyj's much more vocal and polemical attack on Ukrainian provincialism and his turning to "Europe," but that Zerov himself, through his own work, his

6 Cf. "Ukrajina čy Malorosija," *Slovo i čas*, 1990, no. 1, p. 10.

poetry, criticism, and translations, exemplified these values. If the values of profound respect for and belief in the autonomy of art, of its role as a source of strength and basis for a national culture, and of impassioned anti-provincialism and "Europeanism" are to be applied to anyone, they would, of course, apply to Zerov. (And, indeed, much more to him than to Xvyl'ovyj, given the latter's political and social imperatives.) Yet Zerov is not called a "Modernist" but a "neoclassicist." And, for all the difficulties with that term,[7] it is still appropriate for him—in large measure because "neoclassicism," though defined by a range of stylistic features and values and attitudes, is firmly rooted in its time and cultural space. In fact, I would argue that one of its most basic, defining features is its principled opposition to Soviet mass culture, not only ideologically but in style and modality. This rootedness in its period—even if in terms of "dissent"—is what gives Ukrainian neoclassicism cultural resonance and specificity as well as literary-historical validity. In general, it seems clear (and I will return to argue the specifics) that such notions as "neoclassicism" and "Modernism" cannot be taken out of their cultural and temporal settings.

In his free-ranging and at times provocative paper on Modernism in Ukrainian prose, Maxim Tarnawsky recapitulates and expands some of the premises already encountered in Ilnytzkyj's paper. On the one hand, as already noted, he declares that "Modernism is not a period designator. It identifies only a group," but then goes on to cast doubt on the latter half of this conventional wisdom. On the other, he does reconstitute the notion of period (the first half was apparently also in doubt), except that in his view it is a period that extends from the late nineteenth century to the first three decades of the twentieth and has, therefore, two subdivisions, "roughly prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary." What makes both these shifts and the short shrift that is given to various attempts to define Ukrainian Modernism somewhat plausible is Tarnawsky's actual focus, which is modernist prose or, specifically, the issue of technical innovation within it. In fact, the latter is taken as the defining feature of the former. Within these narrower confines and as directed to those prose writers—Jackiv and Xotkevyč in the earlier period and Johansen and Janovs'kyj in the later one—who are taken as exemplifying technical innovation (it is not clear whether this category is to be fleshed out with others), various judgments ring true. The linking of the aesthetics of realism with the politics of populism in the earlier period and the tentative, "weak" nature of Ukrainian Modernism resulting from the overarching burden on each and every writer to effect the national

[7] Cf. Jurij Šerex, "Legenda pro ukrajins'kyj neoklasycyzm," in *Ne dlja ditej* (New York, 1964), pp. 97–156.

awakening are points well taken. The notion that "one of the key features of modernist prose is antitraditional technical experimentation" is also true, although I would submit that it, like any other value, inheres in a broader systematics of values. In turn, the attendant notion that "the driving idea of Ukrainian Modernism is the rejection of populism and village realism," a notion that all three authors seem to take as axiomatic, is much less certain and is especially dependent on the meaning that one invests in the entity that must be seen as underlying it all, the populism, the "village realism," and the national awakening, i.e., the *narod*. Ultimately, however, all these things rest on an adequate sense of Ukrainian Modernism itself, and in this regard Tarnawsky's paper also falls short.

A basic issue alluded to, but not really addressed, in the papers is that of placing Ukrainian Modernism within the broader context. While passing mention is made by Tarnawsky to Nietzsche, Freud, and Marx, the aptly and archly styled "legendary demons of modernism," and while, for example, he concedes a certain influence of Nietzschean ideas (even if he judges their "channels" to be "shallow, narrow, and very muddy"), any real sense of a non-Ukrainian literary context is misssing in his paper and is not even implied in the others. This is regrettable for several reasons. For one, Ukrainian literature, a product of a complexly structured society that was politically dependent, only minimally enfranchised, and split between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires, does share common ground with these larger *Kulturkreise*, in the West the Polish and the Austrian and in the East the Russian. Given the fact that Modernism is in many ways a quintessentially cosmopolitan, transnational phenomenon (especially in contrast to the *sui generis* ethnocentrism of the preceding realism and, in a sense, romanticism as well), highlighting even some of these features would have been useful. More specifically, and keeping in mind the implied goal of postulating a model of Modernism, it would have been instructive to see how that literary-historical issue was treated in Polish and Russian literature. And, even if one is relentlessly committed to focusing only on Ukrainian matters, it is of central import precisely for *Ukrainian* literature to remember that it participated in and was modulated by two very different literary contexts, again the Polish and the Russian. One can further hypothesize, and I believe the mass of data bears this out, that there are two distinct models of Ukrainian Modernism, the western and the eastern. (It is a testament to the deficiencies of Ukrainian literary history that this issue has never really been posited, let alone investigated. While even a preliminary statement of the problem is beyond the scope of these comments, one may venture to say that neither Moloda Muza nor *Ukrajins'ka xata* was geniunely representative of their respective variants, although Moloda

Muza, given its truly striking lack of talent, was by far the less important and less representative.)

The question of talent, of aesthetic achievement and coherence, is undoubtedly central to a discussion of Ukrainian Modernism, and any persuasive argument regarding the resonance, even the very presence, of Modernism in Ukrainian literature will ultimately rest on it. Judging from the verdict of these papers, that presence and resonance is muted indeed. It is quite telling that Tarnawsky, who is basically correct in focusing on innovation (I would only demur at calling it "technical" and suggest that it be qualified, if at all, as "artistic"), is obliged by his own criterion to expand the historical parameters of the concept in order not to be confined to discussing only Jackiv and Xotkevyč. But surely the inclusion of Johansen and Janovs'kyj begs the question: by what possible criteria can one include them and not Xvyl'ovyj, the author of the paradigmatically modernist "Ja (Romantyka)," "Arabesky," and *Val'dšnepy*? As far as Ukrainian prose of the early Soviet period is concerned, these are no less and are probably rather more innovative than *Majster korablja*. But, if the Soviet period is to be considered, why arbitrarily stop with this trio? Why not consider (the divide between Soviet and pre-Soviet having been breached) such eminently innovative, cosmopolitan, and in their own way modernist writers as Petrov-Domontovyč (whose *Doktor Serafikus* was written in the 1920s and published in emigration in the late 1940s) or (with that wall breached) such members of the émigré MUR as Kosač and his *Enej i žyttja inšyx*? With the loss of historical signposts, the very notion of "Modernism" runs the risk of becoming one of those "semimeaningless" terms about which Tarnawsky seems to warn us.

To put the matter directly, I believe that Ukrainian Modernism—if that notion is to be meaningful and not confined to its loudest proponents, the bad poets of Moloda Muza and the mediocre to poor critics of *Ukrajins'ka xata*—must be understood primarily as a concept defining both a period and a style, with a flexible rather than schematic sense of a system of themes and, above all, values and artistic devices and stances. It must also be understood that it is precisely because of the deep dynamics of Ukrainian literary culture that Ukrainian Modernism was indeed considerably weaker than, say, Polish Modernism and was further weakened (this the papers in the present discussion touch upon but do not fully address) by the constricted and hobbled initial discourse on Modernism. At fault were not only those like Franko and Jefremov, who seem to have done their utmost to arrive at an unenlightened and obtuse position, but also those highly talented writers then living—Kociubyns'kyj and Stefanyk, Lesja Ukrajinka and Ol'ha Kobyljans'ka—who, while drawn to and in some cases quite

enmeshed in this poetics, did little to articulate it and thus support it. One could postulate that a fundamental problem with Ukrainian Modernism is that, from the first, it was held hostage to ideology, with the usual result: polemics and extreme positions confused the real picture and left a legacy of schematism and partial vision.

A period-and-style concept of Modernism, which basically now obtains in Polish literature,[8] would also help in reconciling seeming contradictions that come from an exclusionary and fundamentally ideological paradigm. If one is a "populist" or "positivist," one cannot be a "modernist"; if Franko writes his diatribes (some of them even good-natured) against Voronyj and his ilk, he cannot then also write "Ziv'jale lystja," or "Poxoron," or, for that matter, that oddly realist and moralist-cum-fantastic "Jak Jura Šykmanjuk briv Čeremoš." Similarly, the notion that Modernism connotes some kind of mandatory, exclusionary thematics—where, in order to be a true Modernist, one must eschew village themes (for these lead to the fire and brimstone of "village realism")—will be revealed as rather flimsy dogma. In Polish modernist literature, the period of Młoda Polska, such writers as Kasprowicz, Tetmajer, and Orkan, for whom the peasant and regional themes predominate, are all members in good standing. It would never occur to a critic to excommunicate them on thematic grounds. And yet Stefanyk and Čeremšyna and Martovyč, each of whom in greater or lesser measure (and Stefanyk in great measure indeed) qualify as Modernists, are so excluded. Such exclusion, moreover, militates against common sense: if it was natural for Kafka to write about Prague and Joyce about Dublin, what is unnatural, i.e., intrinsically "unmodernist," about Stefanyk writing about his peasants?

A more flexible, historically oriented model of Ukrainian Modernism will also show that there are more writers than one may have asumed who fall (although perhaps not altogether) into this category. Apart from those already named, there are Osyp Makovej, Antin Krušel'nyckyj, and Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj, and, looming large on the scene (though hardly always excellent), Vynnyčenko. There is also, above all, the greatest Ukrainian poet of the twentieth century, Pavlo Tyčyna who, in his earliest poetry, up to and including his pathbreaking *Sonjašni kljarnety*, was nothing if not a Modernist. In all of them, poets and prose writers, the modernist poetics was articulated in a range of attitudes and stances that have already been

[8] Cf. Kazimierz Wyka's *Modernizm polski* (Cracow, 1958).

noted, with the added indispensable common denominator of artistic innovation.[9]

The one thing this list will not provide is consistency: Ukrainian literature was not programmed for it and it seems specious in the extreme to search for it. Even the "pure" Modernists, like Voronyj or Jackiv, were hardly consistent, and, in the end, Karmans'kyj wrote good Soviet anti-Vatican verse. The obverse of the fact that all of the Modernists also wrote in a "patriotic" vein is that many writers, in at least some of their works, were of the modernist party without knowing it. This should not discredit them. Neither should it discredit the concept: it needs only to be refined, or perhaps deconstructed.

Harvard University

[9] A useful overview of artistic innovation in short prose is provided by I. O. Denysiuk, *Rozvytok ukrajins'koji maloji prozy XIX–poč. XX st.* (Kiev, 1981).

Responses

I

Perhaps Oleh Ilnytzkyj's suggestion to have our three papers (delivered at the AASSS conference in 1990) published in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* was a procedural error leading to unnecessary misunderstanding. Even George Grabowicz, who was privy to the larger picture, could not refrain from pointing to certain lacunae in the papers. The papers might seem "somewhat *ad hoc*" *only if* taken as the end of an enquiry. They are, in fact, the very beginning. I do feel that publishing the papers (as we also plan to do with the papers from the second and later sessions) was a good idea, for it has led to a discussion and hence to the envisioned goal. Grabowicz speaks of the need for a "reassessment of the canon" of Ukrainian literature. I could hardly concur more. Having worked on Stefanyk and the period of Ukrainian Modernism, I am well aware of the need to reevaluate and to define the concept of Modernism, to set temporal limits, to establish aesthetic and formal criteria that can be used to identify those writers and those works which form the canon and which determine its features. The plan, therefore, was to have a series of four panels (one each year), with the same three participants examining Ukrainian Modernism in detail. The resulting papers would then appear as a monograph on Ukrainian Modernism.

I have no argument with Grabowicz's comments on my paper. I found them, as always, insightful and well-intentioned. I do agree with him that Ukrainian Modernism cannot be taken out of its temporal context, its "period and style." Yet, I am surprised that he does not reflect in his comments his awareness of our project as a whole. I find it a bit disconcerting, therefore, to read that "a basic issue alluded to, but not really addressed, in the papers is that of placing Ukrainian Modernism within the broader context"—especially in relation to Polish and Russian modernist movements—when I had specifically asked Grabowicz to address such a "broader context" for the introduction to the planned monograph.

Danylo Husar Struk

II

George G. Grabowicz's commentary is a welcome complement to what is still very much a collective "work in progress." There is a great deal I am

tempted to say about the problems he raises, but the structure of this forum necessarily curtails my enthusiasm.

At the risk of being immodest, I feel compelled to challenge the contention that my paper "reactivate[s] various traditional, albeit 'canonic,' premises" (p. 276) and wish to point out that Grabowicz misses my major and, I think, original argument (more about this below) while misconstruing several of my other positions. Contrary to what he writes, I am not promoting "the thesis of. . . Modernism-as-ideology" (p. 276). I am arguing that an important (but frequently overlooked) aspect of the Modernist ideology has been particularly "productive [as a] model of what Ukrainian literature should be." I am not attributing to Modernism any special "vitality and centrality" (p. 276). Rather, I identify an essential modernist idea that has had a profound impact on the literary process. I did not claim that Xvyl'ovyj was a Modernist (p. 278), only that he (and the "neoclassicist" Zerov) was influenced by the movement's ideology. I do not argue that early Modernism as such is transposed into the postrevolutionary period, although I do believe that many of its premises about culture and art, and even some of its styles, definitely were. There is enough evidence to suggest that the intelligentsia of the 1920s held fast to many prerevolutionary ideas and used them to retard the influence of the new proletarian trends. Finally, if I ignored the issue of stylistic continuity, it was merely to add force to my major thesis, not because I am hypnotized by "the paradigm of ideology" (p. 277). I readily acknowledge that it is impossible to ignore questions of style in a discussion such as this and hope to make up for this shortcoming in a forthcoming article. But even though I did not expound on the stylistic continuities in Xvyl'ovyj's prose, I think it is generally recognized that the prose of the early 1920s has much in common with prerevolutionary trends.

Defense and apologies aside, the following, I think, is the important point.

Grabowicz sidesteps my contribution to the discussion of Modernism when he says the following: Xvyl'ovyj "may echo an earlier modernist style, [but] as ideologist. . . he is far removed from the modernist *Gestalt* as it appeared in the Ukrainian and, even more importantly, general East European context" (p. 278). Following a timeworn tradition, he defines this *Gestalt*, this "most essential literary. . . feature" of Modernism as "a sense of the autonomy of both art and artist." "[W]ithout that," Grabowicz says, "the notion of Modernism ceases to be coherent." The point of my article was precisely to challenge, if you will, the centrality and vitality of this truism, to suggest that this canonical definition of Modernism is wanting. Grabowicz maintains that Xvyl'ovyj is distinguished from the Modernists by "the more fundamental issues of social role and the model of socio-

literary activity" (p. 277)—his "propaedeutic role" (p. 277)—whereas I argue (perhaps too schematically) that these concerns—contrary to conventional wisdom—were not alien to the Modernist and, in fact, were part of their *Gestalt*. We can only come to Grabowicz's conclusion—"Xvyl'ovyj, precisely as an ideologue, has much less in common with the Modernists than do their contemporary opponents, such as Franko"—if we ignore the evidence (polemical and literary) and stick to a one-sided, ultimately *a priori*, definition of Ukrainian Modernism. The preferential weight given to the concept of "autonomy" is clearly based on the assumption that the Ukrainian and the "non-Ukrainian literary context" (which Grabowicz correctly brings into the picture) are congruent. They are not. Consequently, we need to revise our borrowed definitions. For better or worse, we must recognize that Ukrainian Modernism is unique in this respect, that it functioned differently in Ukrainian literary history than elsewhere. Otherwise, we end up "excommunicating" from Modernism not just "themes" but some of its essential ideological features. If we do that, we will have no way of explaining why the modernist style and innovations were so easily hijacked for civic and patriotic goals, other than to say that Ukrainian Modernism was bad and inconsistent, which is not very enlightening. In short, by pointing out Xvyl'ovyj's allegiance to a basic modernist notion, I believe I did not so much muddy the waters as give Ukrainian Modernism a much needed reinterpretation. I maintain that for both Xvyl'ovyj and the Modernist the conflict between the idea of art's autonomy and its propaedeutic function is resolved in the notion of a "national" art. That this was the case is not at all surprising, considering Ukrainian nationalism and Modernism developed virtually simultaneously.

As I have said, my paper deals primarily with the vitality of ideas; therefore, it would be wrong to suggest that I take "such notions as 'neoclassicism' and 'Modernism'... out of their cultural and temporal settings" (p. 279). I think that Grabowicz's approach to Modernism as "period-and-style" is seductive, but it conceals its own problems. Almost immediately we are forced to admit that Modernism, even if limited to the prerevolutionary period, is not a concept of the same order as, say, "neoclassicism" or, better still, "futurism," which made its appearance in 1914. The former is, in effect, a multiplicity of styles or trends (I purposely refrain from the word "movements") while the latter two are clearly more homogeneous, with futurism a true "movement." We may argue about which styles are subsumed by Modernism—I suggest: symbolism, impressionism and exclude futurism—but we will have to agree that it is a complex phenomenon that thus far has been oversimplified.

The question is why we would not want the postrevolutionary "isms" (symbolism, neoclassicism, futurism, constructivism) subsumed under the term "Modernism." Certainly, in the West all the great artistic movements from 1890 to 1930 fall under that category.[1] When we try doing the same in Ukrainian literature we obviously run into ambiguities precisely because our early "Modernists" were too timid to delineate themselves by more specific "isms." But, in reserving and preserving this term only for the prerevolutionary period (out of respect for historical practice), are we perhaps also being too timid? The more we look at it, the more obvious it becomes that in and of itself the term is not very revealing and is, in some respects, confusing.

Oleh S. Ilnytzkyj

III

Grabowicz's comments are, not surprisingly, thoughtful, incisive, and stimulating, although many of his admonitions lament absences in our essays that are addressed in later installments of our discussion. His argument with all of our papers and specifically with mine rests on the fundamental assumption that Ukrainian Modernism, and, indeed, all of Ukrainian literature, must not be approached from the perspective of ideology. This is not as unreasonable as it may seem. Perhaps ideology is a warped and warping perspective. But it is ideology which, he demonstrates, differentiates Xvyl'ovyj from the Modernists. It is ideology that produced "the constricted and hobbled initial discourse," which weakened the fragile modernist blossom. And then Grabowicz argues that "a fundamental problem with Ukrainian Modernism is that, from the first, it was held hostage to ideology." Indeed it was, and, in fact, ideology so permeates the very essence of Ukrainian Modernism and the entire fabric of the development of modern Ukrainian literature that to argue categorically against this perspective is to imagine a Ukrainian literature other than it actually was.

In his alternative scheme, Grabowicz proposes a loose, flexible model of Ukrainian Modernism based on a period and style paradigm. We have no quarrel here, despite the fact that he quotes out of context the "then" clause of an "if. . . then" conditional remark in my paper regarding Modernism as a period designator. We have all learned from bitter experience that periodizations in literature are notoriously mercurial. It was in order to infuse the

[1] Cf. Malcom Bradbury and James McFarlane, eds., *Modernism, 1890–1930* (New York, 1978).

period designator with some concrete meaning that this discussion was launched. Everyone knows that Franko wrote "modernist" poems and Voronyj wrote some "un-modernist" ones. But can we actually produce a list of criteria by which we distinguish, or our students might distinguish, one from the other? I make no effort, as Grabowicz points out, to list all the possible candidates for the modernist pantheon. My goal is to distill those intellectual, aesthetic, and, yes, ideological features which constitute the ideal paradigm. A particular author's similarity to this ideal is endlessly debatable. The ideal itself, unrealized as it may be in its complete form, is a valuable tool in understanding the forces shaping the literature of a particular era.

Finally, Grabowicz argues that the postrevolutionary era of Ukrainian literature is so completely different from the earlier period that no model can convincingly include both. There is much justice here and I too distinguish these periods. The most accurate measure of this change is in the entirely different cast of characters in Ukrainian literature in the 1920s. But many of them, Tyčyna and Semenko, for example, started writing before the revolution. Many others wrote in a manner similar to their predecessors. Soviet orthodoxy always claimed that Soviet Ukrainian literature was a radical departure from what preceded it. That too is a notion Grabowicz should add to his list of questions that need reexamination.

Maxim Tarnawsky

Lower Scythia in the Western European Geographical Tradition at the Time of the Crusades*

In memory of Valentina Galaktionovna Morozova

LEONID S. CHEKIN

Chronicles and annals, romances and epics of medieval Western Europe contain various data on the history and geography of Rus'. Although often vague and open to dispute, all of this evidence[1] taken together seems to point to the fact that Western Europeans had some knowledge of the geographical and ethnic situation in the region as far back as the tenth century, to say nothing of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Yet the image of Eastern Europe depicted in the geographical literature of those times—in maps of the world and narrative descriptions of the earth—does not fully live up to this conclusion. Western European geographers drew their information about *Scythia inferior*, or Lower Scythia—the area between the Don and the Danube—primarily from works by later Roman authors. Sanctified by the trusty ancient authorities and polished by generations of their medieval interpreters, the techniques and forms of such descriptions appeared eternally true and unshakable. The newer evidence

* This paper is a reworked and supplemented chapter from a dissertation written at the Institute of History of the USSR (Moscow) during 1982–1986 in connection with the late Vladimir Terent'evič Pašuto's project of editing a corpus of ancient and medieval sources on the history of the peoples of the USSR. The work benefited from the criticism it received from my colleagues in the Institute of History, especially my teachers Dr. Elena Aleksandrovna Mel'nikova and Professor Jaroslav Nikolaevič Ščapov. They are, of course, not responsible for any shortcomings in the paper.

[1] Of the works that have appeared in the last decades, see V. P. Šušarin, "Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo v zapadno- i vostočnoevropejskix srednevekovyx pamjatnikax," in Anatolij Petrovič Novosel'cev et al., *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i ego meždunarodnoe značenie* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 420–52; Vladimir Terent'evič Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika Drevnej Rusi* (Moscow, 1965); Mixail Antonovič Alpatov, *Russkaja istoričeskaja mysl' i Zapadnaja Evropa (XII–XVII vv.)* (Moscow, 1973); Mechtild Keller, "Früheste Zeugnisse von Kontakten zu Russen," in Mechtild Keller, ed., *Russen und Russland aus deutscher Sicht, 9.-17. Jahrhundert* (=Lew Kopelew, ed., *West-östliche Spiegelungen*, ser. A, 1) (Munich, 1985), pp. 55–109.

needed to be fit into the established system of geographical ideas; this would not occur rapidly.[2]

The main purpose of this paper is to describe the system of traditional geographical data, which was applied to the description of the region of medieval Rus'. My sources are the available cartographic works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the most significant narrative descriptions of the earth, which often are sections of medieval "encyclopedias."

A few words need to be said about the period covered in this paper. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were an important time in the development of Western European geographical literature. Active exploration of geographical space, both in Western Europe (expansion of cultivated plots, improvements in communications) and beyond (the Crusades in the Middle East and in the Baltic lands, diplomatic and religious missions, growing trade), excited educated people's interest in geography. Lengthy geographical works were written, containing every possible bit of data on countries and peoples inherited from antiquity and synthesizing later Roman knowledge and biblical geographical and cosmographic views. Among these works were the cartographic masterpieces of the Middle Ages—the Ebstorf and Hereford maps of the world. At the same time, the traditional description of the earth evolved gradually under the influence of new information: the thirteenth century witnessed a "geographical discovery" of medieval Rus' by Western Europeans.[3]

During this period there was one single "mainstream" geography developing in Western Europe. Yet regional schools can be identified—among them the "English" one, primarily noted for its more courageous treatment of new data and new practical experiences of Western European travelers.[4] A number of works of this school were created by English authors on the continent; soon after publication they were used extensively in Western European universities and scientific centers, thus becoming an element in the pan-European book tradition. Scandinavian or Byzantine

[2] See John Kirtland Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades: A Study in the History of Medieval Science and Tradition in Western Europe* (New York, 1925), pp. 3, 255–56, 358–61.

[3] Cf. Alpatov's thesis (*Russkaja istoričeskaja mysl'*, p. 21) that in the thirteenth century, because of the "feudal fragmentation of Rus' and the Tartar yoke," "the interest of Western scholars in Rus' seemed to decline rather than grow." A survey of our sources leads to the opposite conclusion: several outstanding geographical descriptions of the region that reflected the new information were made exactly in the thirteenth century (Gervase of Tilbury, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Roger Bacon, and the Ebstorf and Hereford maps of the world).

[4] Cf. Walter Rosien, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte* (Hannover, 1952), pp. 28–31.

geography,[5] which only rarely produced an effect on Western European science, was quite a different matter.

Although the Western European geographical literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has been studied as a source of information for the history of Rus', researchers have given little attention to data that did not reflect the new realities of the time of the Crusades. Some interesting observations can be found in Grégoire Lozinskij's integrated analysis of both cartographic and narrative sources,[6] in articles by Ludwig Niederle and Jerzy Strzelczyk, in Leo Bagrow's book, which examined information about Rus' on world maps,[7] and in similar works on the geography of neighboring regions.[8] Several narrative geographical texts are presented in Vera I. Matuzova's publication.[9] There is also a considerable body of literature on the Eastern European material in individual sources that is almost exclusively devoted to the search for new data. Traditional data were never studied in their entirety: this predominant section of medieval knowledge was usually separated in the historical works like chaff from the wheat of genuine facts; in the process, however, the wheat was often mixed with the chaff, and vice versa.

The goals of this paper differ from those of preceeding historiography. New data will be discussed only from the point of view of its interaction with traditional knowledge. The focus of research will be traditional data, the background against which Europeans absorbed new geographical and ethnographic information about medieval Rus'. Some examples will also be taken from descriptions of other geographical regions. It is essential to draw

[5] On the function of traditional (originating in antiquity) geographical information in Byzantine and Scandinavian literature, see the following articles: M. V. Bibikov, "Puti immanentnogo analiza vizantijskix istočnikov po srednevekovoj istorii SSSR (XII–pervoj poloviny XIII v.)," and E. A. Mel'nikova, "Geografičeskie predstavlenija drevnix skandinavov (k istorii geografičeskoj mysli v srednevekovoj Evrope)," both in *Metodika izučenija drevnejšix istočnikov po istorii narodov SSSR* (Moscow, 1978).

[6] Grégoire Lozinskij, "La Russie dans la littérature française du moyen âge," *Revue des études slaves* 9 (1929): 71–88, 253–69.

[7] L. Niderle, review of Konrad Miller, *Mappae mundi: Die ältesten Weltkarten* (Stuttgart, 1895–1898), in *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija* (May 1900): 354–62; Jerzy Strzelczyk, "Mapy: Słowiańszczyzna w kartografii średniowiecznej," *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, 3 (Wrocław, 1967), pp. 161–68; Leo Bagrow, *A History of the Cartography of Russia up to 1600*, ed. H. W. Castner (Wolfe Island, Ontario, 1975).

[8] W. Kowalenko, "Bałtyk i Pomorze w historii kartografii (VII–XVI w.)," *Przegląd zachodni* 10, no. 7/8 (August 1954): 353–89; Andrzej Feliks Grabski, *Polska w opiniach obcych X–XIII w.* (Warsaw, 1964), pp. 81–175; Petâr St. Koledarov, "Naj-ranni spomenavanija na Bâlgarite vârxu starinnite karti," *Izvestija na Instituta za istorija* 20 (1968): 219–54.

[9] Vera Ivanovna Matuzova, *Anglijskie srednevekovye istočniki, IX–XIII vv.: Teksty, perevod, kommentarij* (Moscow, 1979). See also M. B. Sverdlov, comp., *Latinojazyčnye istočniki po istorii Drevnej Rusi: Germanija, IX–pervaja polovina XII v.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1989).

a detailed picture of the functioning of the system of traditional geographical knowledge—a task that cannot be met if only examples from Rus' or Eastern Europe are used.

1. THE ORIGINS OF TRADITIONAL INFORMATION

1.1. The traditional data of medieval geography can be divided between "biblical" and "Graeco-Roman"—obviously a very arbitrary classification, for the two groups had already begun to interact during Patristic times. The Christian picture of the world came to be filled with factual information borrowed from Greek and Roman philosophers and adapted to the new world outlook.[10]

Scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries looked for this adapted version of the ancient geographical legacy primarily in the geographical introduction to the world chronicle, *Historiae adversum paganos*, by Paulus Orosius (bk. 1, chap. 2); in the encyclopedic treatise, *Etymologiae*, by Isidore of Seville, which contained sections describing peoples of the world (bk. 9), seas and rivers (bk. 13), and lands and mountains (bk. 14); and in *Cosmographia* by Aeticus Ister. Scholars also used geographical and ethnographic remarks contained in St. Jerome's *Liber questionum Hebraicarum in Genesim* (10.2), *Contra Iovinianum* (2.7), commentary on Ezekiel (38.2), and in a number of his letters (e.g., 122); in the *Getica* of Jordanes; and in various versions of Pseudocallisthenes.

1.2. Other sources of ancient geographical knowledge and ideas in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries included books of ancient Roman philosophers and poets, often quoted with as much reverence as the church writers.[11] The greatest authorities, at least before they were criticized by Roger Bacon, were Pliny, with his fundamental *Historia Naturalis* (Scythian materials were borrowed mainly from bks. 4 and 6, less often from bks. 5, 7, and 8), and C. Julius Solinus, the author of the encyclopedia of the wonders of the world, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. Pomponius Mela was probably known during the time of the Crusades only through Soli-

[10] Concerning the early church writers' apprehension of ancient science and culture, see Robert M. Grant, *Miracle and Natural Law in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Thought* (Amsterdam, 1952); Il'ja Nikolaevič Goleniščev-Kutuzov, "Vlijanie latinskoj literatury IV–V vv. na literaturu srednevekov'ja i renessansa," *Vestnik drevnej istorii* 87, no. 1 (March 1964): 64–83.

[11] Cf. E. Boutaric, "Vincent de Beauvais et la connaissance de l'antiquité classique au XIII^{e} siècle," *Revue des questiones historiques* 17 (1875): 13–14.

nus.[12] Medieval scholars used the geographical excursuses in Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthinum*, the *Commentary* on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* by Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by Martianus Minneus Felix Capella, the two similar *Cosmographies* by Julius Honorius and Pseudo-Aeticus, the *Historiae Alexandri* by Q. Curtius Rufus, the *Historiae* by Ammianus Marcellinus, and Justinus's *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus's *Historiae*. Geographers gave vent to their poetic inclinations by occasionally quoting Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Epistolae ex Ponto*, or the *Consolatio Philosophiae* of Boethius.

1.3. By the twelfth century direct ties with Greek literature were long lost.[13] True, there was much translating of Arabic and Greek in Toledo and Palermo, which influenced the theoretical and methodological principles of Western European science.[14] Yet, the new knowledge of Greek and Arabic works did not result in the adding of names of places and peoples to Western European nomenclature. The two outstanding geographies by Strabo and Claudius Ptolemy were at that time unknown in the West. The revival of Ptolemy later dramatically influenced the Western European image of Eastern Europe, and the new discoverers of sixteenth-century Russia were often guided by Ptolemean data on Sarmatia.

1.4. Historians of cartography are still concerned with the degree to which early medieval geographers and map-makers drew on ancient cartography, in particular on the tradition of the lost "Map of Vipsanius Agrippa" of the first century A.D. According to Konrad Miller, who at the end of the last century undertook a fundamental study of medieval maps in order to reconstruct their alleged ancient prototypes, "the most authentic copy of the Roman map" is the Ebstorf map of the world. The maps preserved in medieval copies of works by Sallust, Lucan, and Macrobius were also interpreted as remnants of the Roman authors' own cartographic activity.[15] With very rare exceptions, ancient maps have not been preserved, so the above

[12] Concerning Mela's lack of popularity, see Jerzy Strzelczyk, *Gerwazy z Tilbury: Studium z dziejów uczoności geograficznej w Średniowieczu* (Wrocław, 1970), pp. 79ff.

[13] In our sources the usage of Greek is limited to words and phrases that were mentioned by St. Jerome, Martianus Capella, and Isidore of Seville. Cf. Bernard Bischoff, "The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 36 (1961): 215–16.

[14] See Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924).

[15] See Miller 5, p. 79; 6, pp. 144–45. (A list of abbreviations on pp. 334–35 gives full bibliographic information for the sources cited in this article.)

and similar conclusions, when repeated in recent works on the history of ancient cartography, give rise to varying degrees of skepticism.[16]

If we limit ourselves to the study of the texts on the maps and leave aside the iconographic representations, traditional data on maps of the world (including the biggest wall maps, the Ebstorf and Hereford) might seem to have been drawn from the same later Roman and medieval sources to which authors of narrative geographical descriptions resorted. Most medieval maps are found in copies of narrative works, and in many, but not all, cases those narrative works appear to be the main sources of the maps' legends. The existence of a given tradition of manuscript illustration prior to the date of its earliest preserved examples is sometimes evident. Yet, it is difficult to determine whether prototypes of illustrative maps, like those of other illustrations in early medieval manuscripts, can be attributed to the authors of the narrative texts (who may well have borrowed them from earlier sources) or to later scribes.[17] Maps most frequently embellish copies of Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthinum* (chap. 3), the *Commentary* on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* by Macrobius (11.9), Beatus de Liebana's *Commentaries in Apocalypsim* (Prologue and 11.4), *Liber floridus* by Lambertus of St. Omer, and Gautier of Chatillon's *De Alexandri libri X*. Maps are also found in copies of the Bible and the Psalter, in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Juvenal's *Satires*, and in works by St. Jerome, Priscian, Isidore of Seville, and the Venerable Bede.

1.5. Ancient and early medieval authorities were inclined to borrow whole fragments of descriptions of the earth from their predecessors. Furthermore, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the appearance of tradition-based, new authoritative works that provided sources of information to contemporaries. As a result, it is often impossible to determine the precise source of traditional data in an individual narrative or cartographic work. For example, Honorius Augustodunensis succinctly relates the materials of Paulus Orosius and Isidore of Seville in the geographical section of his *De imagine mundi* (1100). The anonymous author of the Old Spanish *Semejança del mundo* (1123) resorted to works by Isidore and Honorius, and Gervase of Tilbury (first quarter of the thirteenth century) resorted to Orosius, Isidore, and Honorius. Gossouin (1246) borrowed from Orosius, Honorius, and Gervase, while the author of the Ebstorf map

[16] For details see A. V. Podosinov, "Kartografičeskij princip v strukture geografičeskix opisanij drevnosti," in *Metodika izučenija drevnejšix istočnikov po istorii narodov SSSR* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 22–45; Pietro Janni, *La mappa e il periplo: Cartografia antica e spazio odologico* (Rome, 1984); Oswald Ashton Wentworth Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (Ithaca, 1985).
[17] Cf. F. Saxl, "Illustrated Encyclopaedias, 1: The Classical Heritage," in his *Lectures*, 1 (London, 1957), pp. 228–41.

(thirteenth century) borrowed from Pliny, Solinus, Isidore, Aeticus Ister, Honorius, and Gervase.

Authors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries possessed a vast body of data borrowed, either directly or indirectly, from later ancient and early medieval literature. Drawing on this knowledge, they selected and organized the material that was of use to them; medieval geographers thus used a "metalanguage" comprised of borrowings and quotations from the works of their predecessors.

The present goal is to identify and classify structural units of this metalanguage. Attempts to systematize constant elements (invariants) of typologically similar texts have been made, for example, in the study of folklore. Similar methods have been applied to medieval geographical literature by Boris N. Zaxoder, who used "comparative textological analysis" of Arabic geographical works to single out "themes," or "passages that were a complete narrative constantly repeated in different texts, in different combinations, and with different additions, omissions, and distortions," and to build a "thematic compendium of data" on some Eastern European regions.[18]

A comparison of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Western European descriptions of the earth, with each other and with a vast number of similar ancient and early medieval works, identifies the "minimal fragments" of the text—i.e., those that were not further divided into parts by medieval authors. These constant fragments can be traced to one (or more) ancient authority who had borrowed such fragments from another authority without substantial distortion. Most of these constant elements of the geographical texts are extended definitions of traditional toponyms and ethnonyms ("The Albanians have blue pupils and can distinguish objects better at night than in daylight"). On maps of the world, such fragments may appear in succinct or abridged versions, or in an iconographic form, and it is often possible to reconstruct them unambiguously. It seems that individual toponyms and ethnonyms on these maps were perceived as belonging to a definite, implied fragment of a narrative text. Thus, we can represent the traditional information as a set of ancient text fragments, reproducible signs, which, when organized in various combinations, create medieval geographical texts.

[18] Boris Nikolaevič Zaxoder, *Kaspijskij svod svedenij o Vostočnoj Evrope*, vol. 1, *Gorgan i Povolž'e v IX–X vv.* (Moscow, 1962).

2. THE SUM OF TRADITIONAL DATA

A. The Division of the World and the Ecumene

2.1. The geographical literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries presents several methods of dividing the world and the ecumene developed by ancient science.[19] Each of these methods left its mark on the character of geographical descriptions of Lower Scythia.

2.2. One of the more ancient cosmographic schemes, the "wind rose," divided the globe radially into twelve—sometimes four, eight, or twenty-four—segments. Each radius was assigned the name of a wind, as well as the names of people and regions. Certain moral qualities were ascribed to the winds (directions). The perception of the northeastern part of the ecumene was especially influenced by the words of the prophet according to Vulgate: "Ab Aquilone pandetur omne malum."[20]

The wind rose was described in medieval encyclopedias. The names of the winds, accompanied by their anthropomorphic representations, were sometimes written along the perimeters of maps of the world. In this connection, the toponymy of the ecumene's northeast is referred to in the following cases: first, in the versified list of the winds borrowed by Gervase of Tilbury from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*:[21]

> "And the blasts of blustering Boreas raigne
> In Scythia. . ."[22]

and, second, in the leonine hexameters of obscure origin, written along the perimeter of the Ebstorf map. It says of the northern winds Circius (NNW), Aquilo (N), and Septentrio (NNE):

[19] Data on the division of the ecumene in ancient geography are given in accordance with Igor' Vasil'evič P'jankov, *Srednjaja Azija v antičnoj geografičeskoj tradicii (Istočnikovedčeskij analiz): Avtoreferat dissertacii. . .doktora istoričeskix nauk* (Leningrad, 1984), pp. 11–20. See also A. B. Ditmar, *Geografija v antičnoe vremja (Očerki razvitija fizikogeografičeskix idej)* (Moscow, 1980).

[20] Jeremiah 1:14: "From the north disaster will be poured out." This is quoted, for example, in Vinc. H16.16 in connection with the enumeration of peoples who crushed the Roman Empire. Cf. the reasoning in Bacon 2, p. 35, on the possibility of identifying the Tatars with Gog and Magog: "Atque gens Gothica et Vandalorum quae postea invasit meridiem sunt de finibus Aquilonis." On the symbolic meanings ascribed to the directions, see Barbara Maurmann, *Die Himmelsrichtungen im Weltbild des Mittelalters: Hildegard von Bingen, Honorius Augustodunensis und andere Autoren* (Munich, 1976).

[21] Gerv. 1, p. 889; cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.64–65: "Scythiam Septemque triones / Horrifer invasit Boreas." Ovid's data on Lower Scythia have been collected and commented on by Aleksandr Vasil'evič Podosinov, *Proizvedenija Ovidija kak istočnik po istorii Vostočnoj Evropy i Zakavkaz'ja* (Moscow, 1985).

[22] *Ovid's Metamorphoses: The Arthur Golding Translation 1567*, ed. John Frederick Nims (New York and London, 1965), p. 5.

"[Circius] the indomitable blows along the cultivated lands of Ruteni,
Aquilo binds the Maeotian Marshes with ice,
Septentrio complains of Goths, bringing to them chill."[23]

Konrad Miller interpreted the Ruteni mentioned in the line about Circius as the ancient Ruteni of Aquitaine, not as the inhabitants of Rus' (who were known as *Rutheni* to, for example, Gervase of Tilbury, one of the sources of the Ebstorf map). However, the understanding of the Ruteni of the Ebstorf map as Rus' has also been indicated in modern historiography.[24]

The association of Circius with the Ruteni of Aquitaine is justified, given the classical meaning of Circius as a NWW wind in Narbonne Gaul.[25] Yet, in the Ebstorf map's hexameters, as on the other roses of the winds of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Circius was understood as the NNW wind.[26] This identification had been strengthened by Isidore of Seville and perhaps by Charles the Great, who developed the German rose of winds in which Circius was replaced by *nordwestren* (NNW) and Chorus by *westnordren* (NWW).[27] Furthermore, the Ruteni of Aquitaine are not shown on the map proper, while the word *Rucia* (Rus') is inscribed directly next to the radius denoted by Circius. Therefore, it is possible that the author of the Ebstorf map associated "the cultivated lands of Ruteni" with Rus' and perhaps also shared Gervase of Tilbury's and Bartholomaeus Anglicus's concept of the identity of the Aquitainian and Eastern European Rut(h)eni.

Most of the toponyms and ethnonyms in other hexameters correspond to the map's data (all of these names are of ancient origin).[28] Only the verse about the NNE wind Septentrio complaining of the Goths does not seem to match the implications of the map on which the Goths are shown in the northwest. This "misplacement" of the Goths in the hexameters is believed

23 "[Circius] effrenis flat per loca culta Rutenis.
Sese Meotides stringent Aquilone paludes.
Quos algore ferit Gotos Septentrio querit." (Miller 5, p. 10)

24 Namely, in a popular book by Leonid Arkad'evič Goldenberg and Aleksei Vladimirovič Postnikov, *Petrovskie geodezisty i pervyj pečatnyj plan Moskvy* (Moscow, 1990), p. 9.

25 Cartographers of the Age of Discovery and of later times rather strictly understood Circius as the NNW wind; see, for example, maps from Philipo Bietio, *Parallela Geographiae* (Paris, 1648), reprinted in Lloyd Arnold Brown, *The Story of Maps* (Boston, 1950), p. 135; and Gregorius Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (Fribourg, 1503), reprinted in Nils Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, *Faksimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography* (Stockholm, 1889), p. xxxi.

26 Cf. Hon. 1.55; Gerv. 1, pp. 889–90; Hereford map (52-3). Location of other winds may not coincide in these roses. In some contexts, borrowed from ancient authors, the name Circius may still be used in a more classical meaning; see Gerv. 1, p. 914 (Oros. 1.2): "Habet Narbonensis provincia a Circio Aquitaniam," Gerv. 1, p. 912 (Oros. 1.2).

27 Isid. 13.11.2–3; Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni*, cited in Silvanus R. Thompson, "The Rose of the Winds: The Origin and Development of the Compass-Card," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 6 (1913/1914): 186.

28 See a diagram in Rosien, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte* (fn. 4), p. 43.

to be the result of their association (going back to St. Ambrose; see 2.17 and fn. 81 below) with the apocalyptical people Gog and Magog, shown on the Ebstorf map in the far northeast of the ecumene.[29]

2.3. Another ancient method divided the ecumene into several latitudinal zones. Ionian scholars seem to have believed in the existence of three belts: Scythia was located in the northern one, Ionia in the central one, and Egypt and Ethiopia in the southern belt. The counterposition of the Scythians and the Ethiopians, advocated by Hesiod and Aeschylus,[30] was probably based on this scheme. Roger Bacon's words about different mores under different heavenly latitudes, as exemplified by the Scythians and the Ethiopians, may be compared, for instance, to the relevant section of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*. Pliny counterposed the Ethiopians to the inhabitants of the north and all of these together to the moderate inhabitants of the middle section of the earth.[31] Justinus and Orosius, who described the war between the Scythians and Egypt, were other possible sources for Bacon's reasoning.[32] Justinus noted, among other things, that the Scythians and the Egyptians had had a prolonged dispute over who had the more ancient origins (the Scythians proved to be more ancient).[33] Justinus also wrote that the Scythians lived in a harsher climate; therefore, their bodies and minds were tougher than those of the Egyptians.[34]

2.4. The Ionian "three-belt" scheme became more concrete when the concept of a spheric earth was developed. The medieval West's most

[29] Miller 5, pp. 10, 63; Rosien, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*, p. 43. The order of Septentrio and Aquilo is reversed, in comparison to the one adopted by most twelfth- and thirteenth-century (and ancient) geographers; cf. Arentzen, pp. 161–62. In the Old English version of Orosius, however, Aquilo was interpreted as north and the translation for Boreas was northeast. See Janet M. Bately, "The Relationship between Geographical Information in the Old English Orosius and Latin Texts other than Orosius," *Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Peter Clemoes, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1972), p. 52 and fn. 5; the only exception is referred to in fn. 6. On the other hand, a late twelfth-century Norse source interpreted Latin *Septentrio* as northeast; see Lauritz Weibull, "De gamle nordbornas väderstrecksbegrepp," *Scandia* 1 (1928), reprinted in his *Nordisk historia*, vol. 1 (Stockholm, 1948), p. 31.

[30] P'jankov, *Srednjaja Azija*, p. 14; see also W. Aly, *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinen Zeitgenossen* (Göttingen, 1921), p. 13. Other ancient authors who counterposed Scythia and Egypt are listed by D. P. Kallistov, "Antičnaja literaturnaja tradicija o Severnom Pričernomor'e," *Istoričeskie zapiski* 16 (1945): 189–90. The tradition of counterposing Scythia and Egypt also influenced Ovid's rose of the winds, quoted above, where the southern wind Auster who moistens "the opposite lands" is named after Boreas. See Podosinov, *Proizvedenija Ovidija* (as in fn. 21), p. 152, commentary 107.

[31] Plin. 2.189–90; Bacon 1, p. 250.

[32] Just. 2.3; Oros. 1.14; Vinc. H1.96; Brun. 1.30.1. On the Scytho-Egyptian wars, see already in Herodotus 1.105; 2.103–104, cf. 110.

[33] Just. 2.1; Vinc. H1.96.

[34] Just. 2.1. On the climate difference, see also Lamb. 142v/288.

popular version[35] of the ancient teaching of latitudinal zonality spoke of five zones, five climatic belts of the earth. The teaching provided a foundation for the so-called zonal maps of the world, most of which illustrate copies of the *Commentaries* on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* by Macrobius.[36] Zonal maps are also included in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (26-10) and Lambert of St. Omer's *Liber floridus* (43.III). On these maps the border between the extreme northern zone, which was believed uninhabitable because of the cold, and the "moderate" northern zone, i.e., the ecumene, sometimes lies to the south of the Rhipaean Mountains (43.III) and crosses the Tanais (26-10). Macrobius did not locate any geographical objects in the uninhabited northern zone, although he believed that the borderline areas of the "moderate" zone were not well suited to settlement: "The [areas] that adjoin the borders of the cold zone such as the Maeotian Marshes and the countries in which the Tanais and the Ister flow, and all areas above Scythia whose inhabitants were called Hyperboreans in the ancient time. . . . it is not easy to explain, how immensly harsh the cold is there."[37]

2.5. According to yet another method of latitudinal division, which is based on astronomical principles, the ecumene is divided into seven or more "climates" or latitudes that are characterized by the duration of the longest day and the angle of the sun's inclination. Listing these climates in the astronomical section of his *De imagine mundi*, Honorius Augustodunensis mentions the Tanais, the Maeotian Marshes, and the area of the Sarmatians that lies in the eighth climate where the maximum duration of the day is sixteen hours. He also names the Hyperborean Mountains (seventeen hours) and the Rhipaean Mountains (night and day last six months each) in additional climates. These notions can be traced to the Venerable Bede, who abridged Pliny's relevant section in light of what Martianus

35 See A. B. Ditmar and G. A. Černova, "Razvitie idei širotnoj prirodnoj zonal'nosti v antičnoj nauke i ee otraženie v geografii rannego srednevekov'ja," *Izvestija AN SSSR. Serija geografičeskaja*, 1967, no. 4, pp. 127–34.

36 For Macrobian maps, see B. Ja. Ramm, "Novonajdennyj leningradskij ekzempljar makrobievoj karty i ego naučnoe značenie," *Učenye zapiski Leningradskogo universiteta*, 130, *Serija istoričeskix nauk* 18 (1951): 250–70.

37 Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig, 1963), 2.7.20. The same phrase can probably be reconstructed from a defective fragment, Lamb. (70). Knowledge of zones was provided also by Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.45–51; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. A. Dick (Leipzig, 1925), 6.602–603; Isidorus Hispalensis, "De natura rerum," *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 83 (1850), 10.1.

Capella wrote.[38] The Arab version of the theory of climates is illustrated by a rare variety of Western European maps of the world, namely, climatic maps. The nontraditional toponymy of Eastern Europe appears on a map in John of Wallingford's Chronicle (49-7) in the seventh climate ("the climate of the Francs") and, possibly, the sixth climate ("the climate of the Romans").

2.6. In medieval geographical descriptions the ecumene was most often divided into Asia, Europe, and Africa, a method probably going back to the works of Ionian scholars of the fifth century B.C. Yet, the method fits well with Christian ethnogenetic theory: after the flood the world was divided among Noah's sons; Asia became Shem's domain, Europe Japheth's, and Africa Ham's (26-5). In ancient and medieval geography, the border between Europe and Asia was formed by the Tanais that flowed from the Rhipaean Mountains, or the system Tanais–Maeotian Marshes–Pontus. This border is shown on almost all—even the most schematic—medieval maps of the world, including all maps of the most representative group of tripartite ("ecumenical") maps. Their basic scheme—"T-O"—presents the ecumene as a circle whose upper half is occupied by Asia, the lower left-hand quarter is taken by Europe, and the lower right-hand quarter by Africa. While the ring of the ocean represents the letter "O" of the cartographic symbol, the borders between the parts of the ecumene, including the Tanais, form a semblance of the letter "T."[39] The Tanais and, frequently, the Rhipaean Mountains, the Maeotian Marshes, the Pontus, and other geographical objects located near the border between Asia and Europe are usually mentioned in introductory notes to the narrative descriptions of the entire ecumene, of Europe and of Asia (see Table 1).

2.7. The general principles of composition of twelfth- and thirteenth-century descriptions of the earth also have their roots in the ancient geographical tradition: data on the structure of the world is followed consecutively by information about Asia, Europe, Africa, and the Mediterranean islands (with some variation in this order). Sections on regional geography observe political-ethnic and administrative principles of division of the ecumene, as well as the orohydrographic principle adopted by later Greek and Roman geography.[40]

[38] Plin. 6.219; Martianus Capella 8.876–77; Bede, *De natura rerum* 47; Hon. 2.22–23.

[39] For details concerning the T-O symbol, see Brown, *The Story of Maps*, pp. 93, 103, 309.

[40] Cf. I. V. P'jankov, *Baktrija v antičnoj tradicii (Obščie dannye o strane: Nazvanie i territorija)* (Dushanbe, 1982), pp. 4, 16.

B. Information in Regional Sections

2.8. The traditional data presented by geographers in regional descriptions may be divided into several groups: toponyms and ethnonyms (single element units of the geographical metalanguage) and etymological, historical, ethnographic, and natural science data (extended units of the metalanguage).

2.9. In the sources names of peoples and areas are interchangeable. The most frequent references in the descriptions of the ecumene's northeast are to Scythia and Scythians. According to Isidore of Seville, Scythia belonged in the distant past to the vast territory "from India to Germania, including the Maeotian Marshes." Vincent and Bacon continued, as the ancients had done, to refer to a single Scythia.[41] Normally, the term "Scythia" in the regional sections required a specifying attribute: "Upper" ("Asian") or "Lower." The former begins at the Eastern Ocean, borders the Caucasus and India to the south, and stretches west to the Caspian Sea, or, according to other points of view, to the Maeotian Marshes.[42] The latter is located between the Tanais and the Danube. In some cases each of the two Scythias even has a specific spelling (*Esc(h)ocia* and *Ticia* in the Old Spanish *Semejança del mundo*), which may either be due to a paleographic accident or to the desire to distinguish between the two areas orthographically.[43] On maps the word *Scythia* often appears only once, with no obvious preference given to either Europe or Asia (Table 2).

In addition to the Scythians proper, geographers know of various "Scythian" peoples whose names go back to the Herodotus nomenclature. In what is now Eastern Europe, there were the Scythian peoples Callipides and Neuri. The Alanians were also sometimes identified as Scythians.

The toponym and ethnonym "Sarmatia/Sarmatians (Sauromatians)" are functionally close to "Scythia/Scythians." Evidence of this was supplied by Pliny (4.81): "The name of Scythians everywhere is transmuted into the names of Sarmatians and Germanians, so the ancient name is borne only by

41 Isid. 14.3.31; Vinc. N32.6, H1.66; Bacon 1, p. 374.

42 Concerning the borders of Upper Scythia, see Isid. 14.3.31; Rich. 3.2; Gerv. 1, p. 948, 2, pp. 756, 761–62; Bart. 15.113; Vinc. N32.4, 6, H1.65–66; Bacon 1, pp. 350–52; Hereford map (52-3).

43 SM A48, 82; B46, 66, 183. Cf. an Italian translation of Honorius Augustodunensis's *De imagine mundi* (in a fourteenth-century manuscript), where Lower Scythia is called *Sitia la Minore*, whereas Upper Scythia has the name *Magathia*, in accordance with Isidore's derivation of the name Scythia from Magog, son of Japheth (see below, fn. 58), *Magath* in our source. However, elsewhere the Italian translator called the Asian Scythians by the more usual name *scit[e]*. See Francesco Chiovaro, *L'Ymagine del mondo (Firenze, Bibl. Naz. Cod. Palat. 703)* (Naples, 1977), chaps. 22, 23, 27 (pp. 113, 118, 143).

the tribes that occupy the remotest lands and are almost unknown to other mortals." W. Kowalenko notes that in the Middle Ages Scythia and Sarmatia were interchangeable "notions without fixed borders."[44] Sources mention Sarmatians both in Europe and Asia, yet much less frequently than Scythians and Scythia. The ethnonym "Sarmatians" and the toponym "Sarmatia" became more popular after fifteenth-century Western Europe's rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geography*.[45]

Medieval authors, following Isidore, sometimes used the word "Barbaria" as a synonym for Lower Scythia. "Barbaria" invoked the semantics of the Scythian toponym and ethnonym that included the concept of savagery and barbarity.[46] The division of Lower Scythia was based on the data provided by Orosius and Isidore, who distinguished three provinces, namely, Alania, Dacia, and Gothia (Table 3).

Chronologically, traditional twelfth- and thirteenth-century ethnonyms were from the time of Herodotus to the Great Migration of Peoples. Roman names predominate (Table 4), in contrast to Upper Scythia whose ethnic map, compiled by ancient Greek and Hellenistic science, was inherited by medieval scholars without substantive additions.

There is not much traditional topographical nomenclature. In addition to toponyms mentioned in relation to the border between Europe and Asia, descriptions of Lower Scythia include the Sarmatian Mountains.[47] The names of the Borysthenes and Maeotis rivers were also preserved.[48] The name of Chersonesos on the Ebstorf map (52-2) is not necessarily traditional. This ancient Greek colony was not mentioned in the standard sources used by medieval geographers. True, it is marked on an eleventh-century map (in a copy of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* [4-6]), which, in structure and content, is close to the Ebstorf map.[49]

Gervase of Tilbury (2, p. 764), the Hereford map (52-3), and the "St. Jerome" map (0-0) formally recognize the traditional origins of the hydronym *Alanus* that designated a river joining the Pontus. This may be the legendary river mentioned by Isidore of Seville to explain the etymology of

44 Kowalenko, "Bałtyk i Pomorze" (as in fn. 8), p. 356.

45 Cf. T. Ulewicz, *Sarmacja: Studium z problematyki słowiańskiej z XV i XVI w.* (Cracow, 1950), esp. pp. 18–22.

46 Cf. A. V. Podosinov, "Ovidij i Pričernomor'e: Opyt istočnikovedčeskogo analiza poetičeskogo teksta," *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR, 1983* (Moscow, 1984), p. 16.

47 Sol. 20.2; Hereford map (52-3).

48 Cosm. 1.33 = Iulii Honorii Cosmographia B 33 (in Alexander Riese, ed., *Geographi Latini minores* [Heilbronn, 1878]); Lamb. 52v/106; Alb. 3.3, p. 36. *Meotis* is also on maps 52-2 and 52-3.

49 *Gersanis* (52-2), *Cersona* (4-6). The city of Cersona (Chersonesos) was mentioned in some chronicles as the place of exile of the Roman Pope Martinus in A.D. 655; cf. Lamb. 179r/357.

the ethnonym *Alani*: "It is said that beyond the Danube there is a river named Lanus from which the Alani got their name. The people that live near the river Lemannus are called Alemanni." *Lemannus*, which is also the name of a river in Lower Scythia on the Ebstorf map, is probably derived from Lacus Lemannus (Lake of Geneva). According to Ernest Sommerbrodt and Konrad Miller, it was transferred to the Ebstorf map from the above quotation.[50] It is also marked on the "Isidore" map in an eleventh-century copy of his *Etymologiae* (4-6). Miller's comparisons show that the Rivers Alanus and Lemannus may be identical in thirteenth-century descriptions of Lower Scythia.[51]

2.10. In medieval geographical works many toponyms and ethnonyms are accompanied by their "etymological" interpretations (or quasi-etymological, from today's standpoint), as in the above passage about the Alanians and Alemanians. Traditions of etymologizing have their roots in antiquity. Etymologizing became a universal method of cognition in the Middle Ages, a "form of thinking," in E. R. Curtius's words, that went far beyond purely linguistic research. It showed the "origin" and "force" of things. It is therefore no accident that the most significant encyclopedic work of the early Middle Ages was entitled *Etymologiae*.[52]

This work of Isidore of Seville was a source for the etymological data used to describe Scythia. Isidore derived the name of the Rhipaean Mountains from Greek, *riphe* (rush) (following Servius's scholias to *Georgicae*). This etymology was reproduced by Gervase of Tilbury, the anonymous author of the Old Spanish *Semejança del mundo*, Bartolomaeus Anglicus, and Vincent of Beauvais, all of whom, probably, applied it to different "Rhipaean Mountains" that, like the two Scythias, were divided into mountains in Germania and mountains in the upper reaches of the Tanais.[53] The

[50] Isid. 9.2.94; Ernest Sommerbrodt, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte* (Hannover, 1891), p. 45; Miller 5, p. 25.

[51] Miller 4, p. 17; 5, p. 25.

[52] E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, 1948), pp. 448–92.

[53] Isidore placed them where Germany began (Isid. 14.8.8, the same in Vinc. N6.21, H1.86); he also knew of Rhipaean forests in the upper reaches of the Tanais (Isid. 13.21.24). Gervase mentioned the etymology when speaking of the Rhipaean Mountains from which the Tanais flows (Gerv. 2, p. 763). Bartholomaeus used it in his account of the mountains in Germany, which, in the 1483 edition (Nuremberg) bears the title *De alpibus*, and where the form *Cifei* is used (Bart. 14.32), while the mountains in the upper reaches of the Tanais are *Rifei* (cf. Table 1). Other editions (e.g., Strasbourg, 1505) may contain the form *Riphei* in both cases and the title of Bart. 14.32 as *De Ripheis montibus sive alpibus*. In the Old Spanish *Semejança del mundo* the mountains in the Upper Tanais are named both *Cephey* (*Ceferin*) and *Rrifey*, and Germany's mountains are *Rrifey* (SM A81, B79, 184, 318).

etymologizing of the Tanais River from the Scythian king Tanus,[54] Scythia and Gotia from Magog, son of Japheth,[55] and the Sarmatians from their "love of arms"[56] became commonplace. The same models were used to create new etymologies. Vincent of Beauvais assumed that the name of the Mongols was derived from Mosoch (Meshech),[57] *Hungaria* from the Huns (see below), and so on.

2.11. Standard attributes of toponyms and ethnonyms can contain historical information. In addition to the etymology of their name, it was said of the Sarmatians that they "rode with arms in the steppes until Lentulus drove them away from the Danube."[58] Descriptions of Eastern Europe speak at length of events relating to the penetration of Pannonia by the Huns. Jordanes was the main early medieval source: a fragment of his *Getica* on the Huns' march across the Maeotian Marshes, narrated by an unknown intermediary, is reproduced almost identically by both Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Vincent of Beauvais.[59] The Huns lived in Great Pannonia, which was located in remote Syria (both authors use this name, presumably, instead of Scythia), beyond the Maeotian Marshes. In search of other hunting grounds, they moved, following the tracks of deer and other animals, to Minor Pannonia, which later came to be called, in the vernacular, [H]ungaria. The historical part of Vincent's encyclopedia gives a more detailed account of these, as well as of preceding and subsequent, events in the history of the Huns and Goths. This account is closer to Jordanes's version, and Orosius's material is also used.[60]

54 Isid. 13.21.24; Hon. 3.2; Gerv. 2, pp. 763–64; SM A81, B84; Vinc. N5.39.

55 Isid. 14.3.31; SM A48, B46; Bart. 15.71; Vinc. N32.6, H1.66, 68.

56 Isid. 9.2.93; Bart. 15.137.

57 In the historical section based on the unpreserved travel account by Simon of St. Quentin, Vinc. H31.34. Meshech is said to be a son of Japheth in Genesis 10:2, and as a people subordinate to Gog in Ezekiel 38:2–3. Cf. also the idea of Meshech as the forefather of one of the Georgian tribes: G. V. Culaja, "Istoričeskaja koncepcija gruzinskogo istorika XI veka Leontija Mroveli (ètnokul'turnyj aspekt)," *Istorija SSSR*, 1987, no. 4, p. 182 (with reference to K. S. Kekelidze). On the origins of Cappadocians (*Capadoces*) from Mosoch, see Lamb. 47v/96, cf. Isid. 9.2.30. Later, the name of Moscow was derived from Meshech (in particular, by Martin Luther): see Hans Lemberg, "Zur Entstehung des Osteuropabegriffs im 19. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 33 (1985): 89, fn. 287.

58 See fn. 56.

59 Jord. 24.123–26; Bart. 15.116; Vinc. N32.12.

60 Vinc H16.11–16. Episodes in the early history not only of the Goths and Huns but even of the Francs took place near the Maeotian Marshes; see M. E. Grabar'-Passek, *Antičnye sjužety i formy v zapadnoevropejskoj literature* (Moscow, 1966), pp. 191–97; cf. Gerv. 1, p. 913; Vinc. H16.3.

Isidore identified the Huns with other peoples who had followed a similar route: "they say that the *Ugni* were called *Huni* in the past, later they came to be called *Abari* after their king. They had lived in remote Maeotide, between the icy Tanais and the ferocious tribes of Massagetes. Then on their quick-footed horses they broke across the Caucasian rocks where Alexander had blocked savage peoples. . . ."[61] Hence the inscription on the Ebstorf map, in the North Black Sea area, that recorded a stage of this route: "the Avari, i.e., Huni, had lived here." Moreover, the map mentions the Huns, and the Huni-Avari, in two legends inscribed in the territory of Pannonia, which is, incidentally, defined as "Lower which is now Ungaria."[62]

Although the identification of the Hungarians with the Huns was not generally accepted (they were distinguished in the anonymous *Descriptiones terrarum*, between 1255 and 1260),[63] it was recognized by many geographers.[64] Relying on Jordanes, Isidore, and data from William of Rubruquis's travel account, Roger Bacon wrote that the Huns, later called *Hungri* and now Hungarians, came from the land of *Pascatir* (Bashkir), i.e., Great Hungary. "Having taken with them Bulgars and other peoples, they, according to Isidore, broke open Alexander's Gates."[65]

The legend *Hungari* on the Hereford map (52-3), there placed to the east of the Sarmatians and to the south of Norway, near the northeastern border of Lower Scythia, does not necessarily point to later events than those recorded in the works by Jordanes and Isidore. Rather, it is synonymous with the legend *Huni*, for example, on Lambert of St. Omer's map of Europe (43.X-1).

2.12. Vincent of Beauvais provided ethnographic descriptions of some peoples of Scythia, following St. Jerome who cited examples of their peculiar tastes and behavior: the Sarmatians, Quadi, Vandals, and innumerable other tribes eat horse meat and fox meat; the Nomads, Troglodytes, Scythi-

61 Isid. 9.2.66.

62 Miller 5, pp. 17, 24.

63 Jerzy Strzelczyk, "Opis krajów: Nowe źródło do dziejów wieków średnich i chrystianizacji ludów nadbałtyckich," *Życie i myśl* 36, no. 3/4 (1988): 62, 67, fn. 8.

64 On the origins of this identification, see Richard C. Hoffman, "Outsiders by Birth and Blood: Racist Ideologies and Realities around the Periphery of Medieval European Culture," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6 (16) (1983): 14–21.

65 Bacon 1, p. 367. Cf. also Alb. 3.2, p. 35, where the ethnonym *Hunni* is supplemented with a definition borrowed from Pseudo-Aeticus's *Cosmographia* 1.1.26: "qui nunc Ungari vocantur."

ans, and new savage Huns prefer half-raw meat.[66] Following Aeticus Ister, the people of Griphe are described as totally worthless on Henry of Mainz's map (25-3) and on the Hereford (52-3) and Ebstorf (52-2) maps.[67] Extended characteristics of the people of Scythia supplied by Julius Solinus and Justinus seem to be reproduced solely in relation to the description of Upper (Asian) Scythia.[68]

2.13. Some data on natural conditions are provided for remote northern areas of the ecumene. The land of Pterophoron, beyond the Rhipaean Mountains, invokes references to eternal cold.[69] On the other hand, a mild climate, fruit-bearing trees, and life-giving air are characteristics of the region of Hyperboreans, who live near the world pole.[70]

A bear pictured in the land of the Sarmatians on the Hereford map is reminiscent of the famous motif of the "Russian bear," which first became popular in Shakespearean England (cf. *Macbeth* 3.4.100 and *Henry V* 3.7.139).[71] There were attempts to trace the roots of this stereotype to antiquity (Greek, *arktos*, means both "bear" and "north"; the semantics of both "bear" and "north" in early Christian tradition included the idea of evil),[72] but the Hereford map was never recognized as the possible English "missing link" in the development of the motif.[73]

C. Veracity

2.14. By superimposing the traditional picture of the world on the historico-geographical map known to modern historians, we notice that the traditional data do not have the same value in terms of veracity, i.e., the correlation with historical reality.

2.15. Data reflected in the real geographical situation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries relates to a few immutable geographical objects in the North Black Sea area well known to later Roman authorities: the Tanais

66 Hier. AI 2.7; Vinc. H1.86.

67 Hier. AI 2.7; Vinc. H1.86.

68 Cf. Sol. 15.15; Just. 2.2–3; Rich. 5.2; Vinc. N31.130, H1.88; map 52-3.

69 Plin. 4.88; Sol. 15.21; Gerv. 2, p. 763; maps 25-3; 52-3.

70 Plin. 4.89; Sol. 16.3; Gerv. 2, p. 762; Bacon 1, p. 359. This region (as well as the Hyperborean Mountains) was located sometimes in Europe, sometimes in Asia.

71 See Karl Heinz Ruffman, *Das Russlandbild im England Shakespeares* (Göttingen, 1952), p. 177.

72 See Werner Philipp, "Auf den Spuren des russischen Bären," *Aus dreissig Jahren Osteuropa-Forschung: Gedenkschrift für Dr. phil. Georg Kennert (1919–1984)* (Berlin, 1984), pp. 183–93; Lemberg, "Zur Entstehung des Osteuropabegriffs" (as in fn. 57), pp. 88–89.

73 Cf. also the visions of Hildegard of Bingen of the mid-twelfth century personifying the northern wind with the bear head; Maurmann, *Die Himmelsrichtungen* (as in fn. 20), p. 49.

River (the Don), the Pontus (the Black Sea), the Maeotian Marshes (the Sea of Azov), and the Sarmatian Mountains (the Carpathians).

2.16. Some of the names related to human geography (names of peoples, regions, cities) do not reflect the real geographical situation in the period under review, yet to a varying degree they are correct for certain periods of antiquity and the early Middle Ages. We can, with a degree of precision, single out from medieval descriptions of the earth data concerning the geographical and political reality of the time of Herodotus and Alexander the Great, the first and fourth centuries A.D. and the era of the Great Migration of Peoples. We often come across twelfth- and thirteenth-century data that do not match the reality of contemporaneous authors, even in their eyes. Although the Pharos lighthouse had been destroyed long ago, it was still marked on map 52-2. According to narrative sources, the Amazons owned the Themiscyrian fields only for some time in the distant past, yet map 0-0 placed them in the *Themiscerii campi*. Migrating peoples had long left the Maeotian Marshes, and those who had been destined to rush toward Rome had already done so. Yet they remain in their erstwhile places on the maps.[74] According to a definition by Cresques Abraham, author of the Catalan Atlas, *mapamundi* is an image "of the various ages of the world":[75] the circle of the earth was regarded as the arena of world history, and the "world chronicle" was projected onto its plane. The space of the medieval map of the world, of the medieval description of the earth, was not synchronous, as is the space of today's maps—even that of historical maps. The medieval map is outside time or, rather, of all time.[76]

2.17. Finally, there are a number of legends that are incorrect from today's standpoint, and which were repudiated by medieval geographers as new knowledge about the ecumene was accumulated. There were many and varied reasons for the appearance of geographical legends, but, generally speaking, their propagation and stability in the Middle Ages is attributed to a shortage of empirical knowledge and the rule of religious-symbolic thinking.[77]

[74] However, the time distance is on some occasions indicated, even on maps: "Hic olim terra hunorum fuit" (52-2); "Gotia unde Goti" (17-9).

[75] Georges Grosjean, ed., *Mapamundi: The Catalan Atlas of the Year 1375* (Dietikon and Zurich, 1978), p. 40.

[76] See Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Mappa mundi und Chronographia: Studien zur 'Imago mundi' des abendländischen Mittelalters," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 24 (1968): 118–86.

[77] See Jelena A. Mel'niková, "Legendový zeměpis západoevropského středověku," *Historická geografie* 26 (1987): 57–76.

Legends about parapeoples and monsters were the preferred subjects for drawings on maps. They occupy a prominent place in regional descriptions, especially in those dealing with remote areas of the ecumene. Some creatures were classified by a thirteenth-century natural scientist as occupying a position between people and animals:[78] Hippopods (people with horses' legs), Panotii (Fanesii) (people with enormous ears that they wrap around themselves), the Cynocephali (dog-headed people), for example.[79]

The legend about Gog and Magog, the Inclosed Nations, and Alexander's Gate came from the region of the Caspian "Gulf" but certainly had an impact on the ecumene's whole northern rim. Three motifs of the legend—the peoples of Gog and Magog as helpers of the Antichrist, the gates built by Alexander the Great to protect the civilized world from onslaughts of barbarians (let us recall that Huns-Hungarians broke through those gates), and the ten lost tribes of Israel—can be found in descriptions of the earth. The development of each motif and the time and place of its combination with the others are topical questions of the history of culture.[80]

Medieval classifiers, like the author of the Hereford map (52-3) could place the Inclosed Nations as an ethnical phenomenon on the same footing with other parapeoples, but the idea of the legend goes far beyond the limits of ethnography. Roger Bacon (1, p. 365), for instance, saw the value of the science of geography in its ability to determine from where and when Gog and Magog would bring the downfall of the world. Over the centuries the legend illustrated the apocalyptic concept of Christian historiography. New barbaric peoples appearing on the borders of the ecumene made their existence known primarily through violence and plunder. This peculiar nature of the "ethnographic discoveries" of later antiquity and the Middle Ages is demonstrated in the development of the legend's diverse versions, both in Christian and Islamic literature. For example, our sources reflect the discussions in later antiquity of the possibility of identifying Gog and Magog with the Goths,[81] the early medieval theory of the origins of Turks

[78] Thomas Cantimpratensis, *Liber de natura rerum* (Berlin and New York, 1973), pp. 95–97 (3.1).

[79] See John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); Claude Lecouteux, *Les monstres dans la littérature allemande du moyen age*, 3 vols. (Göppingen, 1982) (= *Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik*, 330).

[80] See Andrew Runni Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932). Maps depicting Gog and Magog and the gates were reviewed by Joachim Lelewel, *Geographie du Moyen Age*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1852), pp. 237ff.

[81] Cf. the forms *Goth/Got* (SM A10, B11) in place of "Gog et Magog" in the fragment borrowed from Hon. 1.10, probably influenced by St. Ambrose ("Gog iste Gothus est"), and criticism of this statement in Hier. QG 10.2. Cf. also the comparison of "Gog et Magog" and "getae et massagetae" by St. Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 1.20, "gogetae, magogetae" in Aet. 3.41, and the idea about the origins of Goths from Magog, fn. 55 above. See Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*,

from the Gog and Magog clan,[82] and the then topical idea of the Tatar-Mongols as Gog and Magog.[83]

Counterposing legendary data to factual data, which is important for the contemporary historian, does not have the same significance within the system of traditional geographical knowledge. The distinction between legendary and factual data is a modern introduction and reflects our understanding of the further road traversed by geography since the Middle Ages.[84]

3. DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYSTEM

A. Variance

3.1. The conservative treatment of information by narrative geographical texts and maps and their dependence on works by previous authorities did not exclude original organization of the old material, or intentional or unintentional modification of its lexical, grammatical, syntactic, and iconographic forms. For example, if we compare variants of the phrase about the Albanians who see better at night than in daylight in the three most influential ancient texts and in three medieval texts, there are no two that are completely identical (to say nothing of the iconographic form of the same invariant in a cartographic source).[85]

3.2. The formal transmutation of ancient toponyms in some cases represents a "self-reliant" form of development of the system of traditional data—i.e., development through variance rather than through interaction with alien elements.[86] We have noted above (2.9 and 2.17, fn. 84) such phenomena as the splitting of the etymon—i.e., the formation of two orthographically different toponyms, as was the case with the two Scythias in *Semejança del mundo*—and, conversely, the formal convergence of two names, as was the case with the ethnonym Gog, which was transformed into Goth in the same text. It is not very important for the functioning of the system whether such transformations are the author's intent or occur as

pp. 9–12, and Hans Andersson, "Gothus, Gog och Magog," *Scandia* 19 (1963): 155–56.

82 Aet. 3.32; Ebstorf map (52-2), see Miller 5, p. 26.

83 Cf. Charles Burnett and Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Attitudes towards the Mongols in Medieval Literature: The XXII Kings of Gog and Magog from the Court of Frederick II to Jean de Mandeville," *Viator* 22 (1991): 153–67. The accuracy of this identification is discussed by Vinc. H31.34, cf. 4.43, 29.89, 31.12; and Bacon 1, pp. 268, 363–65, 2, pp. 234–35, cf. 1, pp. 302–304.

84 Cf. Uwe Ruberg, "Mappae mundi des Mittelalters im Zusammenwirken von Text und Bild," in Christel Meier and Uwe Ruberg, eds., *Text und Bild: Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 578–79, fn. 92.

85 Plin. 7.2; Sol. 15.5; Isid. 9.2.65; Gerv. 2, p. 726; Bart. 15.7; map 52-3.

86 Concerning the role of variance in a system's evolution, see V. M. Solncev, "Variativnost' kak obščee svojstvo jazykovoj sistemy," *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, 1984, no. 2 (April): 31–42.

accidental, "technical" errors. In the final analysis, the instability and mobility of some toponyms known to the medieval geographer from the ancient book tradition are due to the semantic paucity of those toponyms.[87]

3.3. Traditional geographical information about remote areas of the ecumene is rather freely distributed on the maps. It might be said that we are dealing with "errant" names and characteristics. The location of objects on the maps constantly and inevitably shifts within a larger region (e.g., Lower Scythia): the methods used in map making did not make it possible to "tie" a geographical object consistently to one location or to determine the latter with a sufficient degree of precision (probably not the cartographers' main purpose). Traditional data can even move from one region to another. To take one characteristic example, Cynocephali were marked in Ethiopia and India, Lower and Upper Scythia,[88] i.e., in almost all inaccessible areas of the ecumene.

3.4. Standard ethnographic descriptions "wandered" from one people to another. These data may have had a certain empirical base in antiquity, but creditable ethnographic facts became "errant" legends in a long process of literary reworking and generalization. Two main types of standard descriptions of peoples can be identified. The first shows a noble barbarian: selfless, moderate, peace-loving, possessing lofty moral qualities and good health; this idealization of the noble barbarian may mask the ancient author's polemics about "corrupted civilization."[89] The second type encompasses such ethnic traits as cruelty, bloodthirstiness, foolishness (ignorance), the habit of eating raw and unclean food, including human flesh and blood. N. S. Širokova has observed that "a reserved, and sometimes even hostile attitude toward barbarians is the same idealization, only with a minus sign."[90] Peoples "swap" characteristics within each of the two types. The Hereford map (52-3) assigns to the "worthless" people of Griphe an attribute that Solinus had applied to the Geloni: "[they] make clothes for themselves and their horses from the skin of their enemies." The map

87 Cf. Lecouteux's (*Les monstres*, 1, esp. pp. 292–93) study of innovations in medieval teratology.

88 See Lecouteux, *Les monstres*, 2: 20–28.

89 See Alexander Riese, *Die Idealisierung des Naturvölker des Nordens in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main, 1875).

90 N. S. Širokova, "Idealizacija varvarov v antičnoj literaturnoj tradicii," *Problemy otečestvennoj i vseobščej istorii*, vol. 5, *Antičnyj polis* (Leningrad, 1979), p. 38. Cf. Kallistov, "Antičnaja literaturnaja tradicija" (fn. 34), pp. 190ff., esp. 194–95.

accompanies this text with an appropriate picture.[91] Bacon transferred the characteristic of the Arumphaei tribe as "quiet and peace-loving" to the Hyperboreans. Incidentally, Pliny and Solinus, who applied this characteristic to the Arumphaei, stressed the two peoples' similarities.[92] Both types of standard characteristics—the "positive" (following Justinus) and the "negative" (borrowed from Solinus)—were applied to the Scythians in medieval descriptions of the earth.[93]

3.5. Numerical designations for the numbers of peoples also "migrate" from one area to another. For example, the number of peoples in the Scythian-Hyrcanian region could be "24," "42," "43," "44," and "54";[94] "24" also characterizes the number of peoples in Egypt,[95] Albania, and Amazonia,[96] and "44" the number in India.[97]

3.6. Remoteness was sufficient cause for generalizations about peoples and regions, for exchange of data between different areas of the ecumene. This "interregional" exchange was subordinate to its own laws. First, geographical data "migrated" more often within the limits of two neighboring areas; for example, Scythia and India seemed to merge into a single "Oriental land." Descriptions of Lower Scythia were influenced by its proximity to Germany. Hence, the elk and the aurochs, which Pliny and Solinus located in the Hercynian Forest,[98] appear in the territory of Rus' (52-2); Isidore's mysterious "Germanian" rivers of Alanus and Lemannus, were directed by twelfth- and thirteenth-century geographers toward the Black Sea. Scythia and Egypt, two areas at the opposite borders of the ecumene, are also linked to one another. This link, which was based on the tradition of climatic and ethnographic comparisons (see above, 2.3), was solidified by the composition of the geographical descriptions of Orosius and Honorius Augustodunensis, where Egypt is followed almost immediately by Scythia.

[91] Cf. Sol. 15.3. According to Miller 4, p. 17, the fact that on map 0-0 *Geloni* are in the same place in Asian Scythia as *Griphe* on map 52-2 also confirms the indiscernibility of these peoples in medieval cartography.

[92] Plin. 6.35; Sol. 17.1–2; Bacon 1, p. 359.

[93] See above, fn. 68.

[94] "24": Rud. p. 765; "42": often in copies of Oros. 1.2; "43": Gerv. 2, p. 762; Oliver Herbert Phelps Prior, ed., *L'Image du Monde de Maitre Gossouin, réd. en prose* (Lausanne and Paris, 1913), 2.2.FH; "44": Hon. 1.18, SM A48, B46; Bart. 15.74; Ebstorf map (52-2); "54": Chiovaro, *L'Ymagine des mondo* (fn. 47), chap. 22 (p. 113).

[95] Hon. 1.17; Rud. p. 700.

[96] Gerv. 2, pp. 761–62 (with a variant: "34," as in Oros. 1.2).

[97] Hon. 1.10.

[98] Plin. 8.38–39; Sol. 20.4–6 (identified in Miller 5, p. 25).

Second, migration of traditional data from one region to another may be due to toponymic consonance. Thus, the wonders of the Hercynian Forest migrated from Germania to Hyrcania[99] (the root causes of this transformation are related to the fact that Germania lost its status as a remote area of the ecumene). Some descriptions of the earth transplanted Scythopolis from Palestine to Scythia.[100]

Finally, distant migrations of geographical objects may be due to features of the source manuscripts used by medieval authors (e.g., the absence of paragraphs) and other purely "technical," accidental reasons. Vincent of Beauvais placed the Caucasus on the island of Tylos because the phrases about the Caucasus and the island were placed next to each other in the ancient source.[101] When Brunetto Latini wrote about the Scythian islands in the "Dead Sea," he hardly meant the Crimea and the Sea of Azov (contrary to what his modern commentator assumed). The point is that the ancient source, which was characterized by inconsistency, placed the story of the Pontian islands of the Apollonites and Achilles next to a description of the Northern Ocean.[102] In the natural history section of his encyclopedia, Brunetto placed the Hyperborean Mountains in Greece, having read perfunctorily the section of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* that recounts the well-known story about swans in the Hyperborean Mountains and compares Latin and Greek names of the swan in the next phrase.[103] A similar "technical" error probably gave birth to such curiosities as "the Hyperborean Mountains" on an island in the Black Sea (the Ebstorf map) or a picture of an ostrich in the North Black Sea region (the Hereford map).[104]

3.7. It should be stressed that all cases of unusual localization require a thorough analysis of the sources, for they may reflect a special ancient tradition followed only by individual medieval maps and narrative texts or particular groups of maps. Some maps in copies of Sallust's *Bellum*

[99] See Christian Hünemörder, "Hercyniae aves," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 110 (1967): 371–84.

[100] Rich. 3.8; maps 49-8[?]; 52-2[?].

[101] Sol. 52.50; Vinc. N32.16; H1.78.

[102] Sol. 19.1–2; Brun. 1.123.18, cf. commentary by F. J. Carmody on p. 434.

[103] Isid. 12.7.19; Brun. 1.161.2.

[104] Miller 4, p. 18, saw in the latter the influence of Aeticus, who compared the stupidity of the Griphe people with that of an ostrich (the description of the Griphe people, according to Aeticus, yet without the comparison to an ostrich, is present on the same map). William Latham Bevan and H. W. Phillott, *Medieval Cartography: An Essay in Illustration of the Hereford Mappa Mundi* (London and Hereford, 1873), p. 139, pointed to another fragment of Aeticus's *Cosmographia*, to the description of the ostrich proper, which Aeticus believed to be found in the mountains of Armenia. On the Hereford map the ostrich is placed near the Arfaxat River, the name of which can be interpreted as a derivative from Araxes.

Jugurthinum and Gauthier of Chatillon's *De Alexandri libri X* show Armenians, Persians, and Medians in Africa, which corresponds to Sallust's description of the fortunes of Hercules' warriors.[105] The presence of the Maeotis and Jaxartes rivers in the location of the Tanais, and a strange picture of the Maeotian Marshes as several small round lakes linked by channels seem to be echoes of ancient Ionian notions[106] in the Hereford map's geographical concept.

B. Interaction with New Data

3.8. Traditional information is often found side by side with new information without any critical comparison given. This approach of medieval geographers was determined not only by their "uncritical" attitude toward authoritative ancient sources but also by the religious-symbolic meaning of traditional geographical description, in particular its objective of showing the arena of historical events, "loca in quibus gestae sunt."[107] At times a traditional description of a region is completely duplicated by a new one, though the two do not come into direct contact with one another; cf. the distribution of Eastern European regions, cities, and rivers on the Ebstorf map: *Scithia inferior, Dacia, Gotia, Teodosia, Lemanus,* etc. in the east; *Rucia* with *Kiwen* (Kiev), *Novgardus* (Novgorod), *Plosceke* (Polotsk), *Smalentike* (Smolensk), *Olchis qui et Wolkans* (Volkhov?), *Duna* (Dvina) in the west.

3.9. The preservation of traditional information can be attributed to its importance for composition. Thus, for Gervase of Tilbury, information about Lower Scythia and its division seems to have only a formal function, i.e., merely to signal the beginning of a description of a new part of the world—Europe. In the same chapter Gervase repeatedly returns to Eastern Europe. Enumerating provinces and peoples, he "arrives" in Rus' from the northwest and southwest, without once mentioning either Lower Scythia or its provinces. Yet, at the end of his description of the earth, in a short concluding list of the ecumene's regions, where he mentions in particular Rus' and Poland, Gervase makes it a point to allude once more to Lower Scythia as Europe's first region.[108]

3.10. Traditional terms may be a kind of landmark to which previously unknown areas of Eastern and Northern Europe are tied. Bartholomaeus

105 Maps 12-15; 29-13; 49-17; cf. Sallust, *Iugurt.* 18.3–4; see Arentzen, pp. 99–100. The same fragment of *Bellum Jugurtinum* is quoted by Bacon 1, p. 316.

106 Concerning these notions, see I. V. Kuklina, *Ètnogeografija Skifii po antičnym istočnikam* (Leningrad, 1985), pp. 131–36, 143–60.

107 The words of Hugo of St. Victor; see William M. Green, "Hugo of St. Victor: De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum," *Speculum* 18 (1943): 491.

108 Gerv. 2, pp. 763–66; 1, p. 955.

Anglicus refers to Lectonia, Livonia, Sambia, and Sweden as provinces of Lower Scythia. Rivalia borders Lower Scythia, and Zealand is situated to the west of Upper (?) Scythia.[109] On maps 25-3 and 52-3, Rus' is included in Lower Scythia, replacing a component of the formula "Dacia, where also Gothia"—"Dacia (here) and Rus(s)ia."

The idea of marginality, remoteness, and barbarity that antiquity associated with Scythians and Scythia was passed on to the Slavs and "Sclavonia" (paganism being the substitute for barbarity),[110] together with some traditional contexts (see 2.3 above). This "Scythian legacy" contains an inescapable comparison with the southern rim of the ecumene. According to Brunetto Latini, the Ethiopians and the inhabitants of "Esclavonia" lived according to "beastly laws."[111] By contrast, Bartholomaeus emphasized the difference between Sclavia and the regions inhabited by the Ethiopians: they lie in different climates, so the influence of the planets is different.[112] Some monuments of the French epos did not distinguish the Slavs from the Muslims (i.e., Muslim *slaves*); in particular, Renand de Montauban calls the Egyptian king Safadin a Slav (*l'Esclavon*).[113] The closeness in meaning of "Pagan" and "Muslim" for medieval Western authors,[114] or the presence of the Slavs in Muslim regions,[115] also contributed to the stable literary

[109] Bart. 15.87, 88, 126, 134, 153, 174.

[110] Cf. Keller, "Früheste Zeugnisse" (fn. 1), pp. 60–77, 92.

[111] Brun. 2.39.1 (the section is devoted to ethics). Cf. an idea about the Hamitic genealogy of Slavs in the *Chronicon Imperatorum et Pontificum* of the late thirteenth century, later rejected by John Marignola and Jan Długosz (see Grabski, *Polska w opiniach obcych X–XIII w.*, pp. 142–47, who connects this idea to the ideology of German *Drang nach Osten* and to the fact that the medieval Latin *Sclavus* and its derivatives in the European languages meant both "Slav" and "Slave").

[112] Bart. 8.22. Bartholomaeus referred in the same paragraph to *Mis(ch)alath philosophus* (elsewhere *Miselat astrologus*), probably Māšā'allāh ibn Atharī al-Baṣrī, who wrote ca. A.D. 770. For a bibliography of Latin texts which circulated under his name, see Francis J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation: A Critical Bibliography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956), pp. 23–38. The differences, both physical and moral, between Ethiopians and northern peoples (*populus Dacus et Sclavorum*), were noted also by Albert the Great, who was following pseudo-Aristotle's *De causis proprietatum et elementorum*, a ninth-century Arabic book translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona: Alb. 2.3, pp. 26–27, cf. pp. 57–58 of the same volume of Albert's works.

[113] N. P. Daškevič, "Smeny vekovyx tradicij v otnošenijax narodov Zapada k russkim," *Sbornik statej, posvjaščennyx počitateljami akademiku i zaslužennomu professoru V. I. Lamanskomu po slučaju pjatidesjatiletija ego učenoj dejatel'nosti*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1908), p. 1377, fn. 2.

[114] On the perception of "Sclavi" as pagans, see A. I. Drobinskij, "Rus' i Vostočnaja Evropa vo francuzskom srednevekovom èpose," *Istoričeskie zapiski* 26 (1948): 95–127, esp. 95–117; and Keller, "Früheste Zeugnisse" (fn. 1).

[115] For a summary of data and bibliography, see Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika Drevnej Rusi* (fn. 1), pp. 138–40. Cf. an explanation of the Western European idea of Rusians as a pagan people by Lozinskij, "La Russie dans la littérature française" (fn. 6), p. 266: in Palestine "les

traditions comparing Scythia to Egypt that have their roots in the constructs of Ionian philosophers.

Slavs were not the only "successors" of the Scythians. Due to orthographic similarity between some forms of the names of Scythia and Scotland, the latter could be derived from the former. The legend of the Egyptian extraction of the Scots possibly represents the development of the same etymological idea.[116]

3.11. The "errant" traditional characteristics were passed on to peoples that became known to the medieval author from contemporary sources. This migration of legendary information may account for the description of the people of Perossites, identified as a Finnish tribe in the region of Vyatka and Perm. Mixail P. Alekseev views John of Plano Carpini's story about the Perossites feeding on the steam of broth (this story is included in the historical section of Vincent of Beauvais's encyclopedia) as a "modification of a legend about the peoples of the East.... It is difficult to decide, however, whether the story was recounted to him in this form by Mongols who described their campaigns or whether it came to be associated in the author's mind with memories of works by classical authors." It should be born in mind, observes Alekseev, that the classical authors and the Mongols could have had common Indian and Persian informers.[117] There can be no doubt that sometimes the transfer of traditional characteristics to new peoples was based on real features of their cultures and regions.

3.12. Medieval authors use two types of interaction when consciously comparing new and traditional data. The first type uses traditional data to verify new knowledge (e.g., Gervase of Tilbury supports information about Rus'—"Rutheni" with a line from Lucan about Rutens of Aquitaine). The

croisés français eurent l'occasion de rencontrer des Russes sans se rendre compte s'ils étaient amis ou ennemis, chrétiens ou païens. . ."; cf. p. 256. Lozinskij also pointed to the presence in the Holy Land of placenames resembling the name of Rus'. He saw this, in particular, as the reason for the odd image of Russia in Bartholomaeus Anglicus's encyclopedia (ibid., p. 257).

116 See the *Pictish Chronicle* of the tenth century, which bound the name of *Scotti* to both Scythia and Egypt: "Scotti qui nunc corrupte vocantur Hibernienses quasi Sciti, quia a Scithia regione venerunt, et inde originem duxerunt, siue a Scotta filia Pharaonis regis Egypti, que fuit ut fertur regina Scottorum." Isidore's description of Asian Scythia was used as a geographical introduction to this chronicle (William F. Skene, ed., *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and Other Early Memorials of Scottish History* [Edinburgh, 1867], pp. 3–4). Cf. a story of Scythian noble families migrating first to Egypt, then to Spain, and finally to Britain: Lamb. 68v/138; Rene Derolez, "British and English History in the Liber Floridus," in Albert Derolez, ed., *Liber Floridus Colloquium* (Ghent, 1973), pp. 59–70. See also W. Matthews, "The Egyptians in Scotland: The Political History of a Myth," *Viator* 1 (1970): 289–306.

117 Mixail Pavlovič Alekseev, *Sibir' v izvestijax zapadnoevropejskix putešestvennikov i pisatelej XIII–XVII vv.*, vol. 1 (Irkutsk, 1932), pp. 10–11.

second type appeals to new data to verify traditional information (Bacon refutes Pliny and other classics by referring to the experience of travelers to Mongolia).[118] Interaction of the first type often resulted in the transcoding of traditional texts, the filling of traditional form with new contents, as is the case with the Rut(h)eni. The ratio of the two types of interaction in descriptions of the earth is determined by the degree of development of argumentation within medieval geography, which, until the thirteenth century, was usually content to cite ancient authorities; in the thirteenth century, geographers often drew on "experimental" proof and references to observations made by witnesses.[119]

3.13. A typical medieval toponymic transformation is "archaization," i.e., putting a new toponym in a traditional orthographic shell belonging to an outdated term that no longer reflects the new geographical and ethnic reality. This was observed by historians on numerous occasions, particularly with regard to the Byzantine literary tradition.[120]

3.14. In many cases a remote phonetic similarity (and, possibly, secondary ethnogenetic legends) was enough for a geographer to consolidate ties between a medieval reality and an outdated toponym or ethnonym.[121] Yet, it is tempting to assume that medieval authors had additional reasons for persistently using a definite ancient name for a contemporaneous people or place. For example, if the name *Rus'* really has some kind of genetic relation to the name of the ancient Aquitainian tribe of *Ruteni*,[122] we can hardly

[118] Gerv. 2, p. 765; Bacon 1, p. 354, and pp. 305, 365–66.

[119] More details are provided in L. S. Čekin, "Tradicionnye i novye svedenija v zapadnoevropejskoj geografii XII–XIII vv.," *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR, 1985* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 157–63; idem "Elements of the Rational Method in Gervase of Tilbury's Cosmology and Geography," *Centaurus* 28 (1985): 209–17.

[120] Mixail Vadimovič Bibikov, "Vizantijskaja ètnonimija: Arxaizacija kak sistema," in *Antičnaja balkanistika: Ètnogenez narodov Balkan i Severnogo Pričernomor'ja* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 70–72; idem, "K izučeniju vizantijskoj ètnonimii," in *Vizantijskie očerki* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 148–59. For an analysis of Western European "archaized" toponyms, see Kazimierz Liman, "'Graecia,' 'Latinum,' 'Campania,' 'Ruthenia' i inne starożytne pojęcia geograficzne w łacińskich źródłach Średniowiecznych," *Meander* 42, no. 9/10 (1987): 407–20.

[121] On etymologizing, see section 2.10 above.

[122] A. V. Nazarenko, "Ob imeni 'Rus'' v nemeckix istočnikax IX–XI vv.," *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, 1980, no. 5, pp. 46–57, traces medieval German forms of the name Rus' and its derivatives back to the ethnonym (?) **Rut(j)* which existed in Old High German (southern dialects?) before the completion of the second High German consonantic shift and after completion of the West Germanic gemination, i.e., ca. fifth to sixth centuries. Omeljan Pritsak used this and other data to support the "Rutenian" etymology of Rus' (which had been proposed in the past, with weaker arguments) in his, "The Origin of the Name Rus/Rus'," in C. Lemercier-Quelquejay et al., eds., *Passé turco-tatar. Présent soviétique: Etudes offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen* (Paris, 1986), pp. 45–65. The new evidence has not yet been brought into accordance with the predominant, and most thoroughly elaborated, theory of Scandinavian

accept as coincidental the appearance of the "archaized" form *Rut(h)eni*[123] for Rus' in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The same is true of another scholarly name for Rus', Galatia, which Bartholomaeus Anglicus confuses with Galatia in Asia Minor. Although attempts to find the basis for such geographical names as Galich (Halyč) and (East European) Galicia in the reality of Celtic migrations are rather hypothetical,[124] one cannot but note the ancient references to Galatae and Galatia in the North Black Sea region collected by Peter I. Köppen.[125] Yet, these and similar notions are insufficient to doubt the presence of "archaization" proper, the formal identification of Rus' with the Rutens of Aquitaine or Galatians of Asia Minor in medieval geographical literature.

Toponyms and ethnonyms could have become integrated in the tradition, thanks to a set of reasons that did not contradict one another. Therefore, the idea of one of the forms of the ethnonym Rus', *Rugi*, resulting from the velarization characteristic of the Ripuarian Frankish dialect,[126] does not necessarily contradict the theory that it was integrated in literature under the influence of ancient *Rugi*[127] and possibly *Rogi* of Jordan.[128] It should be stressed that the medieval tradition did not entirely forget the original meaning of the ancient ethnonym *Rugi*. Copying the lists of peoples from the *Cosmographia* of Pseudo-Aeticus, Lambert of St. Omer in the twelfth cen-

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etymology of Rus'. For a review of the existing theories on the etymology of Rus', see E. A. Mel'nikova and V. Ja. Petruxin, commentary in chap. 9 of Konstantin Bagrjanorodnyj, *Ob upravlenii imperiej* (Moscow, 1989), pp. 293–307; and also their "Nazvanie 'Rus'' v ètnokul'turnoj istorii Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva (IX–X vv.)," *Voprosy istorii*, 1989, no. 8, pp. 24–38.

123 Both orthographic variants were used in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to designate both Rus' and the Rutens of Aquitaine; see Liman, "'Graecia,' 'Latinum,' 'Campania,' 'Ruthenia'...," pp. 412–14.

124 See Oleg Nikolaevič Trubačev, "Jazykoznanie i ètnogenez slavjan," *IX Meždunarodnyj s''ezd slavistov. Jazykoznanie. Doklady sovetskoj delegacii* (Moscow, 1983), p. 253.

125 Petr Ivanovič Keppen, *Drevnosti severnogo berega Ponta* (Moscow, 1828), p. 116, fn. 6.

126 Pritsak, "The Origin of the Name Rus/Rus'," pp. 57–60. For Rugi/Rus', see also A. V. Nazarenko, "Rus' i Germanija v 70-e gody X veka," *Russia mediaevalis* (Munich), 6, no. 1 (1987): 57–59.

127 Cf. Erich Zöllner, "Rugier oder Russen in der Raffelstettener Zollurkunde?" *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 60 (1952): 108–119. On the ancient Rugi, see Bruno Rappoport, "Rugi," *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung begonnen von Georg Wissowa*, 2d. ser., 1 (Stuttgart, 1920), cols. 1213–1223; Jerzy Strzelczyk, "Rugowie," *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. 4 (Wrocław, 1970), pp. 571–72.

128 On this ethnonym, see Valentin Vasil'evič Sedov, "Ètnogeografija Vostočnoj Evropy serediny I tysjačeletija n.è. po dannym arxeologii i Iordana," *Vostočnaja Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 9–15.

tury and Albert the Great in the thirteenth century both mentioned ancient Rugi.[129] The Rut(h)eni of Aquitaine were also well known, judging from the example of Lambert's correction of the ethnonyms "rup-treni. . . anntequini" to "rutheni. . . aquitani"[130] (they are on the list of Asian peoples as a result of a not-so-valid conversion of pseudo-Aeticus's four-part division of the ecumene into a three-part division by Lambert).

3.15. In unclear contexts, especially on maps of the world, it is difficult to distinguish between outdated traditional information and "archaized" toponyms and ethnonyms. There is the possibility of an alternate solution. Let us consider the formula (mentioned in 3.10) "Dacia (here) and Rus(s)ia."[131] In spite of our preference for a purely literary origin of the first component, we cannot rule out the possibility that it reflects, for example, the presence of Danes in Kiev in the eleventh century[132] or that it speaks of Denmark and the island of Rügen (cf. Herbord's phrase "Ruthenia vero Danos adiunctos habet").[133] Already the original formula, "Dacia (here) and Gotia" could point both to the outdated ancient reality and to the lands of Scandinavia with phonetically similar names.[134] A similarly vague transformation of the same formula appeared in work of the French poet Pierre de Beauvais (or, probably, in a copyist's version of his poem *Mappemonde*): "Alanie siet droit illec, Escoce et Danemarche avec." The phrase is based

129 Maps 43.I; 43.X–1 (the text below the map); Cosm. 1.26, p. 84; Alb. 3.2, p. 35.

130 Map 43.I; cf. Cosm. 1.13, p. 77; Alb. 3.1, p. 32.

131 *Dascia et Russia* (25-3); *Dacia. Hec et Rusia* (52-3). The first component was interpreted as Dacia proper by Bevan and Phillott, *Medieval Cartography* (fn. 108), p. 137. They contrasted this formula to *Dacia et Gotia* on the Anglo-Saxon map (24-6), where, perhaps, Denmark was meant. The interpretation of Dacia/Dascia as Denmark on maps 25-3 and 52-3 was also proposed in the literature, but without any argumentation; see von den Brincken, "Mappa mundi und Chronographia" (fn. 76), p. 170; David Woodward, "Mappae mundi," J. B. Harley and D. Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1 (Chicago and London, 1987), p. 328. The reading of the text on the map as *Dacja sive Russia* which resulted in the idea about the Rus' origin of Peter the Dane, Silesian palatine and general of the Polish king Bolesław III the Wry-Mouthed, is obviously a mistake (see Marek Cetwiński, "Piotr Włostowicz czy Piotr Rusin?" *Sobótka*, 1974, no. 4, p. 432).

132 This fact is discussed in Alexander V. Riazanovski, "'Runaway Slaves' and 'Swift Danes' in Eleventh-Century Kiev," *Speculum* 39 (1964): 288–97.

133 For an analysis of this evidence, see N. S. Truxačev, "Popytka lokalizacii Pribaltijskoj Rusi na osnovanii soobščenij sovremennikov v zapadnoevropejskix i arabskix istočnikax X–XIII vv.," in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR, 1980* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 159–85; cf. Liman, "'Graecia,' 'Latinum,' 'Campania,' 'Ruthenia'. . .," p. 414.

134 Cf. Alb. 3.7, pp. 40–41, where pseudo-Aeticus's text about the division of Lower Scythia (Cosm. 2.21) is retold with the following (here italicized) additions: "Hinc ab oriente Alania, *Ruthenia, Prutenia, Livonia est. Deinde* Dacia et Gothia, deinde *versus meridiem* Germania. . . ."

on Hon. 1.22, Denmark being used in place of Dacia from Hon. 1.24. *Escoce* in place of Gotia may mean either Scythia (also referred to several verses earlier as *Siche*) or Scotland.[135]

The identification of the Alanus and Lemannus rivers mentioned by Isidore as purely etymological reconstructs and included by medieval geographers in the system of traditional data on Lower Scythia (see above, 2.9) is equally uncertain. It is quite probable that in the period under review these hydronyms reflected some local realities. The Lemannus which flowed into the Black Sea near the city of Chersonesos (map 4-6; cf. 52-2) may be related to the Greek *limēn*, Middle Greek *limenas*, Turkic *liman*, etc.[136] Thus, it may represent either the estuary of the Dnieper (and that of the Southern Bug) or the Dnieper proper, named after its estuary—cf. the Ukrainian *duma*, "Samijlo Kiška," where "Liman River" is used as a synonym for the Dnieper.[137] In addition to the name of the Alanus River, Gervase of Tilbury's description of Lower Scythia contains a number of other hydronyms derived from traditional ethnonyms: *Vandalus*,[138] *Sarmaticus*. There is even the *Lentulus* River—possibly named after the commander who drove the Sarmatians from the Danube (see above, 2.11). These hydronyms may well be founded in reality.[139]

Or, consider the mysterious list of peoples in the works of the St. Victor school of the mid-twelfth century: "scite inferiores, daci, gothi, alani, gepidi, rugi, bulgari, huni vel hungari, nores, sclavi."[140] Judging from the context, all of those peoples lived within the borders of Lower Scythia (the next period begins with Germanians and Alemanians; cf. Table 3). Do the Rugi imply Rus' or, possibly, the people of Rügen? The origins of the list are unknown; there appears to be no other mention of Rugi or Rus' in geographical works of the St. Victor school, so no unambiguous identification of the ethnonym is possible. It is a different matter when an almost identical

135 Annie Angremy, "La 'Mappemonde' de Pierre de Beauvais," *Romania* 104 (1983): 484–85 (vv. 852, 858) and commentary.

136 Cf. Max Vasmer (Maks Fasmer), *Ètimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka*, trans. by O. N. Trubačev, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1967), p. 497.

137 See Gottfried Schramm, *Nordpontische Ströme* (Göttingen, 1973), p. 106, fn. 263.

138 As an etymon of the ethnomym *vandali*, the Vandalus River is mentioned in Lamb. 49r/99 and, in the form *Vindilicus/Vandalicus*, in Isid. 9.2.96.

139 The Alanus River is sometimes identified with the Prut, yet no convincing proof has been shown at this time. In connection with the ethnogenetic legend, which identified Vandals and Poles, the name *Vandalus* was used for the Vistula by Vincentius Kadłubek and perhaps by Gervase as well; see Grabski, *Polska w opiniach obcych X–XIII* (fn. 8), pp. 139–41, 144–48.

140 Hugues of St. Victor, "Mapa mundi," in Roger Baron, "Hugues de Saint-Victor lexicographe: Trois textes inédits," *Cultura neolatina* 16 (1956): 140; Rich. 3.4. Cf. Strzelczyk, *Gerwazy z Tilbury* (fn. 12), p. 97.

list, at almost the same time, appears in Benoit de Sainte-Maur's poem that mentiones "li Cit, li Got, li Alain, li Gepedien, li Roge e li Ungreis, li Hun. . . e li Bougreis e li Daneis," and, finally, "Esclavunnie." Unlike the St. Victor list, Benoit's list is more updated—at least the Dacians are now clearly Danes. The identification of these ethnonyms is confirmed in another passage of Benoit's poem. Nevertheless, the term "li Roge" does not seem to be synonymous with Rus', which is designated by the term "Rosié."[141]

3.16. The medieval literary tradition contains a toponymical transformation opposite in its essence to archaization. It is rarer, and seems never to have been specifically described. In this transformation, a new toponym is inserted into a traditional phrase as if this toponym were a manifestation of a "normal" variance of a traditional name. There is no obvious change in the content of the traditional phrase; the new name "grows" inconspicuously from the old one under the influence of formal orthographic changes. Thus, *Hirnia* (in some copies, *Hunia*), which was mentioned by Honorius Augustodunensis in place of *Hyrcania*, was later transformed into *Iranea* by Gervase of Tilbury. Gervase's sources included communications from crusaders, so we cannot rule out the possibility that he knew the local name for the land of Iran.[142] The conversion of the "region of *Sueuia*, named after the *Sueuus* mountain," into *terra Suetia* (*tierra Sueçia*), named after the *Suetio* (*Sueçia*) mountain[143] more obviously reflects the Spanish and Italian geographers' knowledge of the name of Sweden.

3.17. Generally speaking, when an ancient text is inserted in a medieval description of the earth, certain semantic changes are simply inevitable. They are predetermined by obvious cultural differences: heroes of ancient history on maps of the world and other medieval iconographic monuments wear dresses of burghers and knights.[144] In other words, even a "purely" traditional sign in the medieval description of the earth cannot imply the same content as its ancient analogue. "Traditional data" of medieval geography and cartography represent desemanticized and transcoded ancient texts whose meanings are elusive unless the new interpretation of the old

141 Benoit de Saint-More, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, ed. Carin Fahlin, vol. 1 (Uppsala, 1951), pp. 9, 10, 19.
142 See L. Čekin, "Ob antičnyx toponimax v srednevekovoj geografičiskoj literature," in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR, 1987* (Moscow, 1989), pp. 257–60.
143 Hon. 1.23; SM A83.78, B66.79: Chiovaro, *L'Ymagine del mondo* (fn. 43), p. 119 (chap. 23).
144 Cf. Arentzen, pp. 27, 133.

text is accompanied by substantial changes in form. The system of traditional geographical data appeared flexible and capable of interacting with the new empirical data that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries began to penetrate increasingly the narrative geographical texts and maps of the world.

Colgate University

*Ethnogeographical Index to Sections 2 and 3**

* Abbreviations: *c* = city; *i* = island; *m* = mountain; *r* = river.

Table 1: Border between Asia and Europe

	Sarmaticus oceanus	*Riphaei montes*	*Tanais fluvius*	*Alexandri arae*	*Robascorum fines*	*Meotides paludes*	*Theodosia civitas*	*Euxinus pontus*
Ancient and Early Medieval Authorities								
Plin.		4.78	4.78			4.78,6.206/7		4.78
Hier.			QG10.2					
Oros.	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2
Cosm.	2.2(90)	2.2(90,95)	2.2(90,95)	2.2(90)	2.2(90)	2.2(90,95)	2.2(90)	2.2(90)
Isid.		13.21.24	13.21.24, 14.3.1, 4.2					13.21.24

	Sarmaticus oceanus	*Riphaei montes*	*Tanais fluvius*	*Alexandri arae*	*Robascorum fines*	*Meotides paludes*	*Theodosia civitas*	*Euxinus pontus*
Narrative Geography of the 12th and 13th Centuries								
Hon.		1.21	1.21			1.21	1.21	
Gerv.	1:910	1:910,912 2:763/4	1:908,910, 912,957 2:763/4	1:910 2:763/4	1:910* 2:763/4†	1:910,912 2:763/4	1:910 2:763/4	1:910 2:763/4
SM		A81,B64,318	A80,81 B63,64,318			A81,B64	A81,B64	B318
Rud.		p. 187	p. 187			p. 187		
Bart.		15.50	15.2,11,50			15.2,11,50		15.11,50
Brun.			1.21.1					
Alb.	3.5	3.5,7	3.5,7	3.5	3.5	3.5,7	3.5	3.5
Vinc.		N5.39	N5.39,6.17,32.2,32.9 H1.63,1.71			N32.2, H1.63		N5.39,32.9 H1.71
Bacon		1:357	1:357			1:357		1:357

* *Moschorum*, var. *roboscorum*; cf. Plin. 6.13: Moschorum fines, where the sources of Fasis are.
† *Tobostrorum*, variant *toboscorum*.

	Sarmaticus oceanus	*Riphaei montes*	*Tanais fluvius*	*Alexandri arae*	*Robascorum fines*	*Meotides paludes*	*Theodosia civitas*	*Euxinus pontus*
Maps of the 12th and 13th Centuries[‡]								
9, 16			9-3, 16-1					
Sallust.		12-15,16	12-1,5,12,14,16,17 29-1,2,3,4,5,8	12-15				
Beat.		17-9	17-8,9			17-8		
Macrob.		21-4,17	21-1,4,9, 36-9					
25		25-2,3,25-6?	25-2,3,5,6			25-2		
Isid.		26-10	26-5,10			26-5?		
39			39-4					
Lamb.		43.III-1,2,3	43.III-1,2,3,4					
Psalt.				49-8				
Gautier		49-17	49-6,17,19					
52		52-3	52-2	52-2,3	52-2[§]	52-2,3[‖]	52-2	52-2,3
Matt.						54-1,2		54-1,2
Hier.		0-0	0-0	0-0		0-0	0-0	0-0

‡ Iconographic representations without toponyms are not included in the table.
§ *Roboscorum.*
‖ Also *Meotis fluvius* on both maps.

Table 2:
Allographs of the Name Scythia/Scythae on 12th- and13th-Century Maps

Map No.	*Lower Scythia*	*Upper Scythia*
17-8	scotia inferior	—
25-1	suithia	—
25-6	site	scite
26-10	—	scithia
29-10	—	sitia
43.I-1	—	scythae
43.I-2	—	scytae
49-8	citia	?*
49-8a	scitia	sithia superiore, sithia inferiore
49-20	—	cithia
52-2	scitia inferior	scithia, scitia
52-3	—	sithe, scitharum gens
54-1,2	—	sicia
0-0	—	scitia suprema
0-0a	—	scitarum gens

* *c.licia*, identified with Scythia by Miller 3:40.

Table 3: Division of Lower Scythia

	Lower Scythia, or Barbaria, starting at the Maeotian Marshes and stretching between the Danube and the Northern Ocean to Germany	*Alania, the first part of Lower Scythia*	*Dacia and Gothia*
Oros.		1.2	1.2
Cosm.		2.21	2.21
Isid.	14.4.3	14.4.3	14.4.3
Hon.		1.22	1.22
Gerv.	2:763/4	2:763/4 1:955	2:763/4 1:955
SM		A82, B66	
Bart.	15.50, 147	15.11, 50, 147	15.50, 105, 147
Alb.		3.7	3.7
Vinc.	N32.9, H1.71	N32.9, H1.71	N32.9, H1.71
Map legends			17-10, 13 25-2

*Table 4: Peoples of Lower Scythia**

	Abari id est Hunni	*Alani/ Alania*	*Bar-baries*	*Calli-pides*	*Cino-cephali*	*Coralli*	*Daci/ Dacia*†	*Gepides*	*Getae*	*Gothi/ Gothia*
Ancient and Early Medieval Authorities										
Ovid, *Ep.*						4.2,8			1.2, passim	
Plin.		4.80					4.80		4.80	
Sol.				14.1						
Hier.								E122.16		
Isid.	9.2.66	9.2.94						9.2.92		
Oros.			1.2							7.33
Aet.					2.28					
Jord.										24
Narrative Geography of the 12th and 13th Centuries										
Rich.		3.4					3.4	3.4		3.4
Gerv.		2:763				2:764			2:764	
SM							A82, B66			
Bart.								15.137		15.71
Vinc.		H16.16 H29.82								H16.11ff.
Bacon		1:358/ 360,374								2:235
Maps of the 12th and 13th Centuries										
Beat.		17-13, 35-1,2								17-9
Lamb. (43-)		I-1,2					IV, X			I-1,2, IV, X
Hier.		0-0	0-0	0-0						
Other	52-2	52-2 52-3		52-2	25-3 52-3		25-1,3,6 52-2,3, 49-8a		52-2	52-2 49-8a

* Only those peoples which were placed in Lower Scythia by the ancient authorities.
For the names *Alania, Dacia, Gothia, Scythia inferior*, see also table 3.
† With traditional or unclear meaning.

Gothi, olim Getae	*Griphe*	*Hamaxobii*	*Hunni*	*Neuri*	*Quadi*	*Sarmatae*	*Scytae inferiores*	*Trogodytes*	*Vandali*
Ancient and Early Medieval Authorities									
		4.80		4.88	4.80	4.80,6.19		4.80	
				15.1-2					
			E77.8, AI2.7		AI2.7	AI2.7		AI2.7	AI2.7
			9.2.66			9.2.93			
1.16			7.33						
	3.31								
			24						22.113-115
Narrative Geography of the 12th and 13th Centuries									
							3.4		
						2:764			2:764
			15.116			15.137			15.140
H16.11			N32.12, H1.86, 16.12ff.		H1.86	N32.9, H1.71,86		H1.86	H1.86, 16.8
			1:367						2:235
Maps of the 12th and 13th Centuries									
						17-10, 35-2			
			X						IV-2,3, 4, X
0-0				0-0					
	25-3	52-2			52-2	25-3, 49-8	25-6	52-2	49-8a
	52-2,3					52-2,3	52-2		

*List of Maps**

From a manuscript of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, 11th c.

4-6 11th c., d. 266 mm. Munich, BS, Clm 10058, fol.154v. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 694, Arentzen, pl. 42

From a manuscript of the Venerable Bede's *Liber de natura rerum*, 12th c.

9-3 12th c., d. 103 mm. Paris, BN, Latin 11130 (S.L. 272 bis), fol.82 (NR). Repr.: Kamal, fol. 756.

From manuscripts of Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthinum*, 12th c.

12-1 12th c., d. 61 mm. Bourges, BMun, no. 219 (224), fol. 25. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 755.

12-5 12th c., d. 73 mm. Florence, BL, Plut. 64, Cod. 18, fol. 63v. Repr.: Miller 3, fig. 39, Kamal, fol. 754.

12-12 12th c., d. 68 mm. Paris, BN, Latin 6253 (Reg. 6579), fol. 52v. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 755.

12-14 12th c., d. 110 mm. Valenciennes, BMun, 549 (503), fol.1. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 755.

12-15 12th c., d. 140 mm. Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 571, fol. 71v. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 753.

12-16 12th c., d. 140 mm. Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 814, fol. 74v. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 756.

12-17 12th c., d. 144 mm. Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1574, fol. 72v. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 753.

From a manuscript of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, 12th c.

16-4 12th c., d. 75 mm. Mons, B. Publique, 223, fol. 90v. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 755.

From manuscripts of Beatus of Liebana's *Commentaries in Apocalypsim*, 12th c.

17-8 1086 or 1124, manuscript written by Petrus and illuminated by Martinus, 380x300 mm. Burgo de Osma, Archivo de la Catedral, fols. 35v-36. Repr.: Miller 2, pl. 3a, Kamal, fol. 744.

17-9 Between 1091 and 1109, manuscript written in the abbey of San Domingo of Silos by the prior Nuño with the help of his father Sebastiano, 320x430 mm. London, BM, Add. 11695, fols. 39v-40. Repr.: Santarem, pl. XII,

* Maps are numbered according to MCVA. A few additions have been made to the data presented there. The abbreviations used in the names of libraries are: B = Biblioteca, Bibliothek, Bibliothèque; BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; BL = R. Biblioteca Medicea Laurensiana; BM = British Museum; BN = Bibliothèque Nationale; BNaz = Biblioteca Nazionale; BS = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; CCC = Corpus Christi College; DS = Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Lib. = Library; Mun. = Municipale; NB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; Univ. = Universitaire, Universität, Université.

Lists of ancient and medieval maps giving data on the territory of Russia/USSR were compiled by Fedor Petrovič Adelung (Friedrich von Adelung), *O drevnix inostrannyx kartax Rossii do 1700 g.* (St. Petersburg, 1840), and more recently by Jaroslav Romanovič Daškevič, "Proekt izdanija drevnejšix kartografičeskix istočnikov po istorii narodov SSSR," *Drevnejšie istočniki po istorii narodov SSSR: Tematika i sostav vypuskov (Materialy dlja obsuždenija)*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1980).

Miller 2, pl. 7, Kamal, fol. 766.

17-10 Late 11th or beginning of 12th c., Catalonia, d. 370 mm. Turin, BNaz Universaria, I, II, I (gia d.V.39), fols. 38v-39. Repr.: Lelewel, pl. 9, Santarem, pl. IX,1, Miller 2, pl. 8, Kamal, fol. 752.

17-13 Late 12th c., 455x650 mm. Manchester, John Rylands Lib., Lat. 8, fols. 43v-44. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 871.

From manuscripts of Macrobius's *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, 12th c.

21-1 12th c., d. 60 mm. Antwerp, Musée Plantin, Lat. 73 (130). Repr.: Kamal, fol. 763.

21-4 12th c., d. 90 mm. Berlin, DS, Lat. 8°8 (Cat. no. 1024), fol. 56. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 761.

21-9 12th c., d. 78 mm. Escorial, B. San Lorenzo, Lat. S-III-5, fol. 115. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 924.

21-17 12th c., d. 112 mm. Leiden, Univ. B., Gron. 78, fol. 51. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 760.

From a manuscript of Priscianus's works, 11th or 12th c. (Anglo-Saxon map)

24-6 11th or 12th c., England, 210x170 mm. London, BM, Cotton Tib. B.V. (I), fol. 58v. Repr.: Miller 2, pl. 10, 3, p. 33, Kamal, fol. 545, Arentzen, pl. 41.

From an anonymous *Calendarium*, 12th c.

25-1 12th c., d. 112 mm. Berlin, DS, Theol. Fol. 149 (Cat. no. 860), fol. 27. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 753.

From Guido of Pisa's *Liber historiarum*, 1119

25-2 1119, d. 130 mm. Brussels, B. Royale, 3897-3919 (Cat. no. 3095), fol. 53v. Repr.: Lelewel, pl. 8, Santarem, pl. 4, Miller 3, p. 56, Kamal, fol. 774, Arentzen, pl. 43.

From a manuscript of Honorius Augustodunensis's *Imago mundi*, late 12th c. (Henry of Mainz's map)

25-3 Late 12th c., supposed prototype of 1109 or 1110, England, Henry of Mainz (Henricus Moguntiae), 295x205 mm. Cambridge, CCC, 66. Repr.: Santarem, pl. 10, Miller 2, pl. 13, 3, pl. 2, Kamal, fol. 785, Arentzen, pl. 45.

From a manuscript of the Bible, 12th c.

25-5 12th c., d. 270 mm. London, BM, Harl. 2799, fol. 241v. Repr.: Arentzen, pl. 19. There is another map in the same manuscript on fol. 242, d. 235 mm.

From a manuscript of Juvenal's *Satires*, 12th c.

25-6 12th c., d. 122 mm. Naples, BNaz, IV.F.45. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 754.

From manuscripts of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, 13th c.

26-5 13th c., probably Spain, d. 128 mm. Florence, BL, Plut. 27 sin. 8, fol. 64v. Repr.: MCVA, pl. IIIc.

26-10 13th c. Heidelberg, Univ. B., Salem IX, 39, fol. IV. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 921. There is another map on fol. 91.

From manuscripts of Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthinum*, 13th c.

29-1 13th c., d. 105 mm. Cambridge, Gonviele and Gaius College, 719, fol. 37v. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 920.

29-2 13th c., d. 125 mm. Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, 81 (olim 1791), fol. 1. Repr.: MCVA, pl. Vb.

29-3 13th c., Leiden, Univ. B., B.P.L. 193, fol. 1. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 921.

29-4 13th c., d. 126 mm. Leipzig, Univ. B., Fonds Stadtbibl., Rep. I.4º.41 (Cat. 1838, LXVIII), fol. 46v. Repr.: Miller 3, fig. 41, Kamal, fol. 920.

29-8. 13th c., d. 55 mm. Paris, BN, Latin 6089 (Colbert 4932 - Reg. 5981 - 7a), fol. 26. Repr.: MCVA, pl. Va.

From manuscripts of Beatus of Liebana's *Commentaries in Apocalypsim*, 13th c.

35-1 1220, Cistercian monastery of Las Huelgas (near Burgos), 205x280 mm. New York, P. Morgan Lib., 429, fols. 31v-32. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 947.

35-2 13th c., d. 400 mm. Paris, BN, NAL 2290, fols. 13v-14. Repr.: Miller 1, p. 39, 2, pl. 9, Kamal, fol. 919.

From a manuscript of Macrobius's *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, 13th c.

36-9 13th c., d. 66 mm. Paris, BN, Latin 15170 (St. Victor 500), fol. 125. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 923.

From a manuscript of William of Conches's *Dragmaticon*, 12th c.

39-4 2nd half of 12th c. Montpellier, B. del'Univ. (Méd.), H145, fol. 38v. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 870, Arentzen, pl. 6.

From manuscripts of Lambert of St. Omer's *Liber floridus*, 12th and 13th cc.

43-1 1120, St. Omer, autograph. Ghent, Rijksuniv., 92.
- I-1 (fol. 19v) d. 220 mm. Repr.: Santarem, pl. III,4.
- III-1 (fols. 92v-93) d 386 mm. Repr.: Miller 3, fig. 60.
- X-1 (fol. 241) 175x207 mm. Repr.: Lelewel, pl. 8, Santarem, pl. XXVII,2, Miller 3, fig. 7.

All the maps of manuscript 43-1 are reproduced by Albert Derolez, ed., *Lamberti S. Audomari canonici Liber floridus* (Ghent, 1968).

43-2 Late 12th c., Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August B., Guelf. I Gud. Lat. (Cat. 4305).
- I-2 (fol. 5) d. 184 mm. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 784.
- III-2 (fols. 59v-60) d 375 mm. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 780.
- IV-2 (fols. 69v-70). Repr.: Miller 3, pl. IV, Kamal, fol. 777.

43-3 ca. 1260. Paris, BN, Latin 8865 (Supp. Lat. 10-2).
- III-3 (fol. 56) d. 220 mm. Repr.: Santarem, pl. XI,5, Kamal, fol. 781.
- IV-3 (fol. 62v) d. 220 mm. Repr.: Santarem, pl. IX,4, Miller 3, fig. 8, Kamal, fol. 779.

43-4 ca. 1290. Leiden, B. der Rijks Univ., Voss. Lat. Fol. 31.
- III-4 (fol. 165v) d. 200 mm. Repr.: MCVA, pl. X.
- IV-4 (fols. 175v-176) d. 290 mm. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 778, MCVA, pl. X.

From a manuscript of John of Wallingford's *Chronica*, 13th c.

49-7 13th c., England, d. 82 mm. London, BM, Cotton Jul. D. VII, fol. 46v. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 992, Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Die Klimakarte in der Chronik des Johann von Wallingford—ein Werk des

Matthaeus Parisiensis," *Westfalen* 51 (1973): 47–56, Arentzen, pl. 11.

From a manuscript of *Psalterium*, 13th c. (Psalter map)

49-8 13th c., England, d. 95 mm. London, BM, Add. 28681, fol. 9. Repr.: Miller 2, pl. 1, 3, pl. 3, Kamal, fol. 998, Arentzen, pl. 46.

49-8a fol. 9v. Repr.: Kamal, fol. 999, Arentzen, pl. 47.

From a manuscript of Gautier of Chatillon's *De Alexandri libri X*, 13th c.

49-6 13th c., d. 79 mm. Leipzig, Univ. B., Fonds Stadtbibl., Rep. I.4º.52 (Cat. LXIII), fol. 88. Repr.: Santarem, pl. XIV,1. List of toponyms in MCVA, p. 168.

49-17 13th c. Paris, BN, Latin 8352 (Reg. 6170-1), fol. 100v. List of toponyms in MCVA, p. 171.

49-19 13th c., d. 37 mm. Paris, BN, Latin 8359 (Colbert 4550), fol. 78v. List of toponyms in MCVA, p. 172.

49-20 13th c., d. 104 mm. Paris, BN, Latin 11334 (S.L. 1312 A), fol. 1. Repr.: MCVA, pl. VIb.

Ebstorf map, 13th c.

52-2. 13th c., not before the 1230s, Lower Saxony, 3580x3560 mm. Destroyed in 1943. Repr.: Ernest Sommerbrodt, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte* (Hannover, 1891), Miller 5.

Hereford map, ca. 1290

52-3 ca. 1290, England, Richard of Haldingham, 1620x1320 mm. Repr.: Rev. F. T. Havergal, ed.; artists G. C. Haddon, F. Rogers, W. Dutton. *Facsimile Made at Hereford in 1869* (London: Edward Stanford, 1872), Miller 4, Gerald Roe Crone, ed., *The World Map by Richard of Haldingham in Hereford Cathedral, ca.* A.D. *1285* (London, 1954).

From manuscripts of Matthew of Paris's *Chronica majora*, 13th c.

54-1 13th c., England. Cambridge, CCC, 26, fol. 284. Repr.: Miller 3, fig. 20, Kamal, fol. 1002.

54-2 13th c., England. London, BM, Cotton Nero D.V., fol. IV. Repr.: Santarem, pl. XVI, Miller 3, fig. 19, Kamal, fol. 1000.

From a manuscript of St. Jerome's works, 12th c.

0-0 12th c. London, BM, Add. 10049, fol. 64. Repr.: Santarem, pl. XXVII, Miller 3, pl. 1, Kamal, fol. 799.

0-0a fol. 64v. Repr.: Miller 2, pl. 12, Kamal, fol. 800.

*List of Abbreviations**

Aet. = H. Wuttke, ed., *Die "Kosmographie" des Istrier Aithicos im lateinischen Auszüge des Hieronymus* (Leipzig, 1854).

Alb. = Albertus Magnus, "De natura loci," in his *Opera omnia*, 5, II (Aschendorff, 1980). Ca. 1251–1254, Cologne.

Arentzen = Jörg-Geerd Arentzen, *Imago Mundi Cartographica: Studien zur Bildlichkeit mittelalterlicher Welt- und Ökumenekarten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Zusammenwirkens von Text und Bild* (Munich, 1984).

Bacon = Roger Bacon, *The Opus Majus*, ed. J. H. Bridges, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1897–1901). 1266–1268, England.

Bart. = Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum* (Nurnberg: A. Koburger, 1483). Ca. 1248, Magdeburg?

Brun. = Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor*, ed. Francis J. Carmody (Berkeley, 1948). 1263, France.

Cosm. = [Pseudo-Aetici] "Cosmographia," in Alexander Riese, ed., *Geographi Latini minores* (Heilbronn, 1878).

Gerv. = Gervasius Tilberiensis, "Otia Imperialia," *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicensium*, ed. Godefridus Guilielmus Leibnitius (G. W. Leibnitz), 2 vols. (Hannover, 1707–1710). 1209–1214, additions to 1219, Arles.

Hier. = Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus (St. Jerome). Excerpts in Basilius Latyschev (Vasilij Vasil'evič Latyšev), *Scythica et Caucasica: Izvestija drevnix pisatelej grečeskix i latinskix o Skifii i Kavkaze*, vol. 2, *Latinskie pisateli* (St. Petersburg, 1906).

AI = *Adversus Iovinianum libri duo*

E = *Epistolae*

QG = *Liber hebraicarum quaestionum in Genesim*

Hon. = Valerie I. J. Flint, ed., Honorius Augustodunensis, "Imago mundi," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et litteraire du Moyen Age* 57 (1982): 7–153. 1110, revised in 1123, 1133, 1139, England and Southern Germany or Austria?

Isid. = Isidorus Hispalensis, "Etymologiae," *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 82 (1850).

Jord. = "Getica" in *Iordanis Romana et Getica*, ed. Theodor Mommsen (Berlin, 1882).

Just. = Justinus, *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus's *Historiae*. Excerpts in Basilius Latyschev (Vasilij Vasil'evič Latyšev), *Scythica et Caucasica: Izvestija drevnix pisatelej grečeskix i latinskix o Skifii i Kavkaze*, vol. 2, *Latinskie pisateli* (St. Petersburg, 1906).

Kamal = Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta cartographica Africae et Aegypti*, 5 vols. in 16 pts. (Cairo, 1926–1951).

Lamb. = Albert Derolez, ed., *Lamberti S. Audomari canonici Liber floridus* (Ghent, 1968). 1120, St. Omer.

* Date and place of origin for the main twelfth- and thirteenth-century narrative sources are given.

Lelewel = Joachim Lelewel, *Geographie du Moyen Age: Atlas* (Brussels, 1852).

MCVA = Marcel Destombes, ed., *Mappemondes A.D. 1200–1500: Catalogue préparé par la Comission des Cartes Anciennes de l'Union Géographique Internationale (Monumenta cartographica vetustioris aevi*, 1; *Imago mundi*, suppl. 4) (Amsterdam, 1964).

Miller = Konrad Miller, *Mappae mundi: Die ältesten Weltkarten*, 6 vols. (Stuttgart, 1895–1898).

Oros. = Paulus Orosius, *Historiae adversum paganos*, ed. Carolus Zangemeister (Leipzig, 1889).

Plin. = Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. by H. Rackham et al., 11 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1938–1963).

Rich. = Richard de Saint-Victor, *Liber excerptionum*, ed. Jean Chatillon (Paris, 1958). Between 1153 and 1162, Paris.

Rud. = Otto Doberentz, "Die Erd- und Völkerkunde in der Weltchronik des Rudolfs von Hohen-Ems," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 12 (1881). Between 1250 and 1254.

SM = W. E. Bull and H. F. Williams, *"Semejança del mundo": A Medieval Description of the World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959). Versions A and B. 1223, Castile.

Santarem = Manuel Francisco de Barros e Sousa Visconte de Santarem, *Atlas composé de cartes hydrographiques et historiques depuis le VI^e jusqu'au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1849).

Sol. = C. Julius Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, ed. Theodor Mommsen (Berlin, 1895).

Vinc. = Vincentius Belvacensis, *Speculum majus*, 4 vols. (Venice: Nicolini, 1590–1591). 1244–1259, France.

H = *Speculum historiale* (vol. 4)

N = *Speculum naturale* (vol. 1)

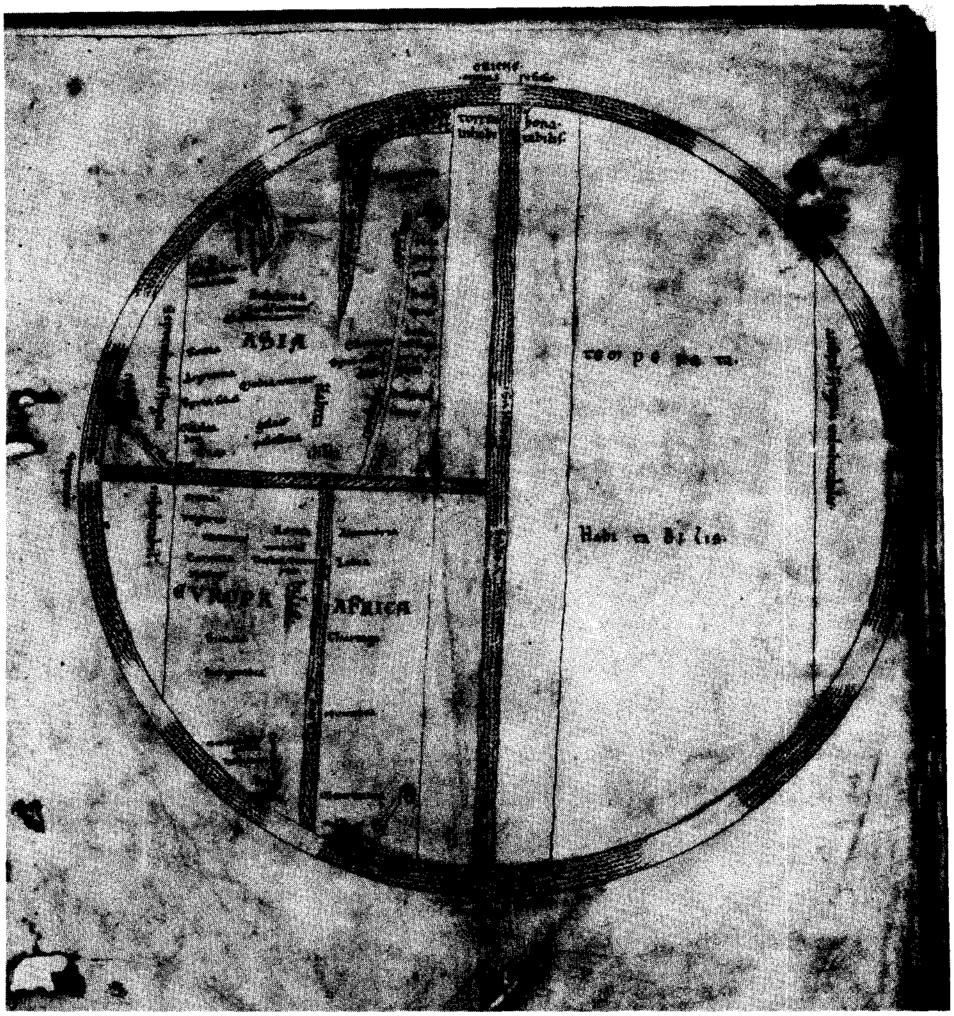
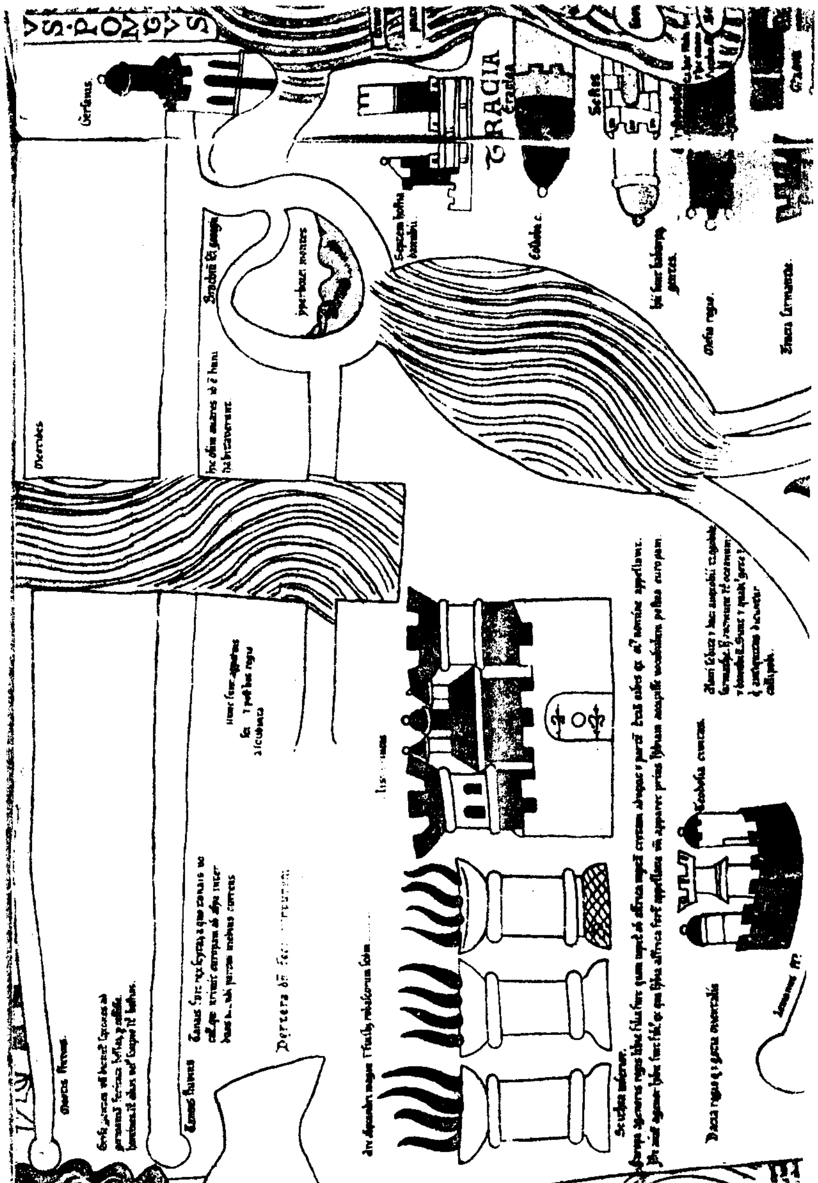


Fig. 1: Map 26-10, showing the eastern hemisphere with five zones and the tripartite ecumene. The Rhipaean Mountains and the Tanais are in the northern cold, uninhabitable zone. This map has an eastern orientation, as do the other two reproduced here: Courtesy of the Heidelberg University Library (Salem IX, 39, fol. IV).



Fig. 2: Map 52-3. Detail. Pictured are two armed Scythians, two Cynocephali, one of the worthless Griphe, who has made a saddlecloth from his enemy's skin, an ostrich, and a bear. Reproduced from the facsimile made at Hereford in 1869, Rev. F. T. Havergal, ed. (London: Edward Stanford, 1872).



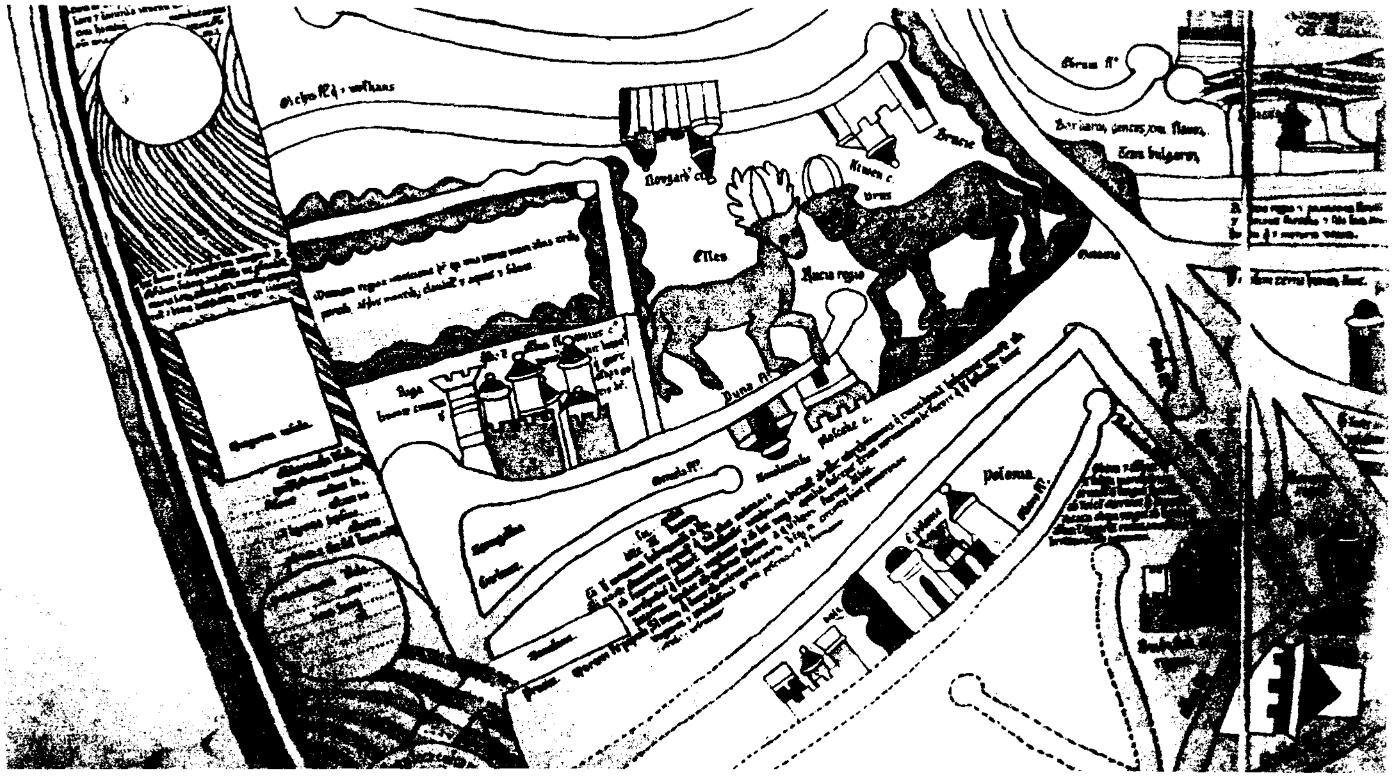


Fig 3: Map 52-2. Detail. Around the elk and the aurochs are the Rus' cities of Kiev, Novgorod, Polotsk, and Smolensk. The traditional data about Lower Scythia is mainly in the upper (i.e., eastern) half of the fragment. Reproduced from Miller 5.

On the Title "Metropolitan of Kiev and All Rus' "

ANDREI PLIGUZOV

Омеляновi Прiцаку

The historical place of medieval Ukraine in Eastern Europe was in many ways determined by the competition between two rapidly growing state formations: the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Grand Principality of Muscovy. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the Muscovite princes strove to legitimize their claim to power by resorting to *Kievan legend*.[1] Lithuania, however, did everything in its power to diminish Kiev's authority by abolishing the Kievan principality and by integrating Kiev into the administrative structure of the Grand Duchy.

The Church was central to the question of the Kievan inheritance: Kiev was the home of precious holy objects (i.e., святыни) and the cathedral Church of the metropolitanate. Nominally, Kiev remained the sacral center of the East Slavic lands at least until 1460, when the metropolitanate was indeed subdivided into two sees—the Kievan and the Muscovite. Paradoxically, however, the full separation of the Ukrainian and northern Russian lands came about during a period of purported church unity, that is, during the epoch of an undivided metropolitanate. For this reason, historians are faced with the task of determining which historical realities were defined by the concept of "metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus'."

The most promising avenue of research is an analysis of the changes in the title of the Kievan metropolitan. In medieval society a title signified the rank within the hierarchy to which the possessor of the title belonged. If we list all medieval titles accepted within one particular cultural tradition, we will see that we are dealing with a special language that comprises a limited vocabulary. This vocabulary, however, signifies diverse phenomena: subordination, possession or the pretense of possession, genealogical connections between legendary forebears and more recently deceased kin. The

[1] For more discussion about Muscovy's claim to the Kievan inheritance according to the *translatio* theory, see J. Pelenski, "The Origins of the Official Muscovite Claims to the 'Kievan Inheritance'," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (hereafter *HUS*), 1, no. 1 (March 1977): 29-52; idem, "The Sack of Kiev of 1482 in Contemporary Muscovite Chronicle Writing," *HUS* 3/4 (1979–1980), pt. 2, pp. 638-49; idem, "The Emergence of the Muscovite Claims to the Byzantine-Kievan 'Imperial Inheritance'," *HUS* 7 (1983): 520–31.

language of titles usually describes a real situation only partly; its primary function is to present an ideal state and to reflect eternal relations. From the seeming immutability of these relations, the medieval world draws its understanding of a world order.

This explains why circa 1484–1485, that is fourteen years after the liquidation of the Kievan principality (1471), the Muscovite prince adopted the title "sovereign (государь) of all Rus'."[2] This title symbolized the program of "gathering," or annexing, all lands which would one day make up "all Rus'." In other words, the Muscovite princes justified their actions—including, for example, their subjugation of Novgorod—by means of the most indisputable of arguments, that of history.[3] After the state of Jaroslav the Wise had been fractured into independent principalities, the East Slavic lands retained only one unifying characteristic besides the uniformity of books, rituals, and holy objects: they all belonged to *one* metropolitanate.

The sacral center in Kiev, which had been established in 1037 by the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople over the lands of Rus'-Ukraine, was a symbol for the state formations of the East Slavs of, initially, administrative unity and, later, confessional and cultural unity. The Cathedral of St. Sophia remained the main church of the Kievan diocese, even after Metropolitan Maximos had left Kiev in 1299,[4] when he and his successors began to administer the "Rus' diocese" first from Vladimir-on-the-Kliaz'ma and later from Moscow (1326).[5]

Scholars usually describe this uniformity by referring to the diocese as "of Kiev and all Rus'," which was reflected in the title of the metropolitan. However, the history of the title has never been clarified, and historians simply repeat a *sacral formula* of the Middle Ages. Modern scholarship has not yet uncovered the true meaning of this formula, any more than had the Muscovite grand princes, who interpreted the concept "of all Rus'" in their own interests.

When did the metropolitan of the East Slavic diocese adopt the title "of Kiev and all Rus'"? Was there a fundamental idea behind this formula? These questions are difficult to answer first and foremost because the relevant documents of the metropolitanate's chancellery have been lost. Fires, the relocations of the metropolitan see, and the traditional negligence of the Middle Ages toward "spent messages" explain why (with the

2 ASEI 2, no. 266; 1, no. 516; DDG, no. 79, pp. 295, 299, 301. See also A. A. Zimin, *Rossia na rubezhe XV–XVI stoletii* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 281–82. (For full citations of the references given in the footnotes, see the List of Abbreviations on p. 353.)

3 PSRL 28: 122–23ff.

4 PSRL 15, pt. 1, col. 35.

5 PSRL 25: 168.

exception of land charters) we have no original charters of the metropolitans from before the end of the sixteenth century.

Researchers are consequently compelled to study copies dating from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, which have been widely dispersed in a large number of manuscript collections (сборники).[6] Before scholars can assess the reliability of the data found in these documents, a comprehensive study that would reconstruct the metropolitan archive (казна) and a careful analysis of scribal emendations to the original texts are needed. Such an analysis is particularly important in cases where copyists used rhetorical clichés—for example, the formulas of charters and titles that were an inevitable part of the *intitulatio* and *inscriptio*.

A comparison of three manuscript compilations with metropolitan charters—GIM, Sinod. 562 (1504–1507), Uvar. 512 (probably 1539–1542), and SOKM, 9907 (1520s)—has shown that they were based on the earlier collection of Metropolitan Filipp of Moscow, compiled around 1471.[7] The *Sbornik mitropolita Filippa* (or *Sbornik 1471*) comprises sixty-six charters, and the title of the head of the Rus' metropolitanate appears in fifty-three of the sixty-six. Thirty of these charters give the metropolitan the short title "of all Rus'";[8] in the remaining twenty-three charters, the Rus' metropolitan is referred to as "metropolitan of Kiev and [or without "and"] all Rus'."[9] In five of the cases where the metropolitan's short title is used, the texts of the documents appear to be corrupted by scribal emendations dating perhaps from 1471.[10] For example, the *intitulatio* of charter 12 calls the head of the Rus' diocese "metropolitan of all Rus'," but in the *praescriptio* of the same document, we find the title with the

6 RFA 3: 552–53, 655–57ff.

7 L. V. Cherepnin, *Russkie feodal'nye arkhivy XIV–XV vv.*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1948), p. 23; RFA 3: 595–96. For further information, see my article "Gipoteticheskii Sbornik mitropolita Filippa," forthcoming in RFA 5.

8 RFA 1, charter nos. 1 (1467), 4 (1463), 6 (1462), 11 (1462–1471), 12 (1453–1458), 14 (1459), 15 (1458–1471), 16 (1451–1452), 17 (1451–1452), 18 (1448–1471), 20 (1448–1471), 22 (1453–1459), 23 (1459–1470), 27 (1464), 31 (1461), 33 (1448–1471), 34 (1459), 38 (1448–1471), 39.I (1453), 40 (1448–1461), 42 (1461), 43 (1453–1458), 46 (1448–1471), 48 (1468), 49 (1462–1471), 50 (1468), 51 (1458–1459), 52 (1464), and 55 (1461); see also the confession of faith (*ispovedanie*) of Bishop Feodosii of Riazan' in SOKM 9907, the presence of which in the protograph of *Sbornik 1471* is beyond doubt: RFA 3, suppl. no. 19, p. 632 (1471).

9 RFA 1, charter nos. 3 (1404), 5 (1458), 7.I (1448), 8 (1461), 9 (1448–1461), 21 (1414), 24 (1459), 28 (1458), 29 (1451), 35 (1453–1458), 36 (1448–1461), 37 (1448–1461), 41 (1455), 44 (1455), 57 (1455), 58 (1451), 59 (1451–1452), 60 (1454), 61 (1451–1458), 62 (1451–1460), 63 (1450), 64 (1459–1461), and 65 (1449–1450).

10 Compare charters 16, 17, 39.I, 40, and 43 in Sinod. 562 and the same charters in Uvar. 512: RIB 6, nos. 73.I and 73.II; Uvar. 512, fol. 230; RIB 6, nos. 75 and 90.

additional definition "of Kiev"; this charter is very similar to charter 35, where the full title appears. Charter 22 also uses the short title; however, we find the same pattern in another document (Uvar. 512, fols. 188–189v)[11] where the full title of the metropolitan appears as well.

According to our sources, between 1458 and 1461 the Rus' metropolitan's full and short titles were used irregularly.[12] V. Kuchkin contends that Iona "on rare occasions at the beginning and at the end of his tenure called himself 'the metropolitan of all Rus'.' "[13] Kuchkin cites four charters (published in RIB 6), but he does not take into consideration the origin of the copies of these documents. One of them[14] does not relate to Metropolitan Iona's lifetime. Two of the documents mentioned reflect the version of *Sbornik 1471*,[15] in which, as far as we know, copyists made additions on many occasions. Charter 83 (May 1461–December 1471) contains traces of the most recent corrections: in these epistles Iona (d. 31 March 1461) is referred to as "the previous (преже бывший) metropolitan."[16] The short title of Metropolitan Iona in charters 34 and 51 (July–December 1459; published in RFA) may also be the result of the most recent emendations. At that time, Iona would have been contending with a rival—the Kievan metropolitan Gregorios Bulgar. Since Gregorios Bulgar also possessed the title "metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus'," a title to which Iona himself was pretending, the original of this charter would most probably have contained the full title.

A comparison of these manuscript copies with other versions of metropolitan charters leads us to the conclusion that around the spring of 1461 the metropolitan, who had his seat in Moscow, was still calling himself "metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus'."

The short title of metropolitan (without the additional definition "of Kiev") was used officially for the first time in the charter of oath and trust (повольная и присяжная грамота) issued sometime between 22 March and 31 March 1461 by Gennadii Kozha, bishop of Tver. Such a significant

[11] For publication of this document, see AI 1, no. 264.

[12] See charters 14, 34, and 51, published in RFA 1, where Iona is called "metropolitan of all Rus'."

[13] V. A. Kuchkin, *Povesti o Mikhaile Tverskom. Istoriko-tekstologicheskoe issledovanie* (Moscow, 1974), p. 81. Kuchkin does not mention previous publications on this point: see M. Wawryk, "Florentiis'ki uniini tradytsii v Kyivs'kii mytropolii 1450–60 rr.," *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, ser. 2 (Rome), sec. 2, vol. 4(10), no. 3-4 (1963): 361, note 125; compare B. Hryshko, "Z istorii tytulatury kyivs'kykh mytropolytiv," *Vira i znannia* (New York), 1 (1954): 76–77ff.

[14] RIB 6, no. 94.

[15] RIB 6, nos. 83, 89; compare RFA 1, nos. 14, 52.

[16] RFA 1, p. 92, line 13.

decision as this, concerning the changes in the title of metropolitan, was accepted at the church council on the deathbed of Metropolitan Iona, when Grand Prince Vasilii the Blind was not in Moscow. It is possible that the decision for the change of the title was accepted by Iona's successor, the archbishop of Rostov, Feodosii Byval'tsev.

The abbreviation of the title undoubtedly occurred during the disputes with the Lithuanian metropolitan Gregorios Bulgar. On 3 September 1458, Gregorios Bulgar was confirmed by the exiled Uniate patriarch of Constantinople, Gregorios III Mammas, and received the title "metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus'."[17] He arrived in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in July 1459, bearing this title.[18] In April 1460, the king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania, Kazimierz the Great, recognized the right of Gregorios Bulgar to rule the diocese of Kiev.[19] This led to the division of the diocese into its Kievan and Muscovite parts.

Still earlier, as a study of six of the charters (dated December 1448–December 1450) indicates, the Muscovite metropolitan Iona, who was installed on 15 December 1448 without the blessing of the patriarch of Constantinople, was, perhaps, unable to bring himself to bear the full title[20] because Kazimierz had refused to recognize Iona's right to rule in the Orthodox lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Sometime between May and December 1450—probably in the fall of that year—Kazimierz did recognize Iona, and the Muscovite protégé laid claim to the undivided inheritance of Metropolitans Cyprian (1390–1408), Photios (1408–1431), and Isidore (1437–1442) and began, as they had done before, to call himself "metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus'."

17 DPR 1, nos. 82–86, pp. 145–51; for more discussion about the dates, see M. Wawryk, "Quaedam nova de provisione metropoliae Kioviensis et Moscoviensis annam 1458–9," *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, ser. 2 (Rome), sec. 1, vol. 10 (1958): 9–26.

18 See DPR 1, no. 94 (from 17 January 1459); RIB 6, no. 87, col. 655 (from August 1459); compare Wawryk, "Florentiis'ki uniini tradytsii," p. 349.

19 B. Buchyns'kyi, "Studii: Mytropolyt Hryhorii," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka* 88 (1910): 11; O. Halecki, *From Florence to Brest (1439–1596)*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1968), p. 93.

20 AFZKh 1, no. 135 (short title—a letter from Metropolitan Iona to the Intercession Monastery; 10 January 1449; a copy in GIM, Sinod. 276); DDG, no. 52 (short title—a treaty between Vasilii II and Ivan, prince of Suzdal'; 15 December 1448–July 1449; original text in TsGADA, fond 135, otd. I, rubr. II, no. 41); ASEI 3, no. 494 (short title—the testament of Ivan Grania; 7 May 1450; a copy in TsGADA, fond 1203, no. 35); perhaps also RFA 1, no. 33 (short title—an edificational charter of Metropolitan Iona to an anonymous monastery; probably ca. 1449; a copy in GIM, Sinod. 562); RFA 1, no. 65 (full title—a letter from Metropolitan Iona to the Kievan prince Olel'ko; 6 December 1449–December 1450; a copy in GIM, Sinod. 562); RFA 1, no. 7.I (full title—a letter from Metropolitan Iona to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; May–December 1450; a copy in GIM, Sinod. 562).

The earliest charter found in *Sbornik 1471*—a treaty (1404) between Cyprian and Vasilii I—refers to the head of the church as the "metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus'." Scholars have advanced different opinions on the date of the confirmation of this title. V. Kuchkin maintains that, up to 1347, the secular and religious hierarchy in Constantinople referred to the Eastern Slavic metropolitans as metropolitans "of all Rus'" and cites the July 1339 charter of Patriarch John XIV Calecas to Metropolitan Theognostos.[21] However, in that epistle Theognostos is called μητροπολίτα Ῥωσίας, i.e., "metropolitan of Rosia." In any event, the heads of the Rus' Church began to be called "metropolitans of all Rus'" no later than 1170, for by then a Greek, Metropolitan Constantine II (1167–1170), had referred to himself in this way on two seals.[22] Constantine's title ran thus: μ[ητ]ροπολ[ι]της παση[ς] [Ρ]ωσίας ("metropolitan of all Rhosia"), the latter signifying not the country, but the people inhabiting that land.[23] It is only in September 1347, however, that Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus refers to Metropolitan Theognostos for the first time as μητροπολίτης Κυγέβου, ὑπερτίμος καὶ ἔξαρχος πάσης Ῥωσίας.[24]

In 1354 Patriarch Philotheos used the title Κυέβου καὶ πάσης Ῥωσίας ("of Kiev and all Rus'") for Metropolitan Aleksii.[25] The synod of the Church of Constantinople decided in June 1380 that "it was impossible to be the high clergy of Great Rus', without first receiving the word 'of Kiev' in the title, since Kiev is the synodal (καθολικὴ) church (ἐκκλησία) and the main city of all Rus'."[26] The habit of titling metropolitans according to the name of their cathedral city was mandatory for the patriarchate of Constantinople, but it did not immediately spread to the Rus' Church. Aleksii, who governed church affairs not only in Moscow but also in Kiev, did not

21 Kuchkin, *Povesti o Mikhaile Tverskom*, p. 81; for the publication of the charter cited, see AP 1:191.

22 V. L. Ianin, *Aktovye pechati Drevnei Rusi X–XV vv.*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1970), p. 49.

23 O. Pritsak, "Kiev and All of Rus': The Fate of a Sacral Idea," *HUS* 10, no. 3/4 (December 1986): 282; compare A. Soloviev, "Metropolitensiegel des Kiewer Russlands," *Byzantinische Zeischrift* 55 (1962): 299–301. For more information about Constantine II, see PSRL 1, cols. 354–56; NPL, pp. 32, 219. Lists of metropolitanates from the middle of the eleventh century up to 1400 usually refer to the heads of the Kievan diocese as metropolitans of Ῥωσίας; see J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1981), pp. 333, 343, 349, 381, 388, 398, 407, 413.

24 AP 1:265; J. Darrouzès, *Le régistre synodal du patriarcat Byzantin au XIVe siècle. Etude paléographique et diplomatique* (Paris, 1971), pp. 144 and 357. For an explanation of the significance of the word ὑπερτίμος in Theognostos's title, see V. Grumel, "Titulature de métropolites Byzantins: II. Métropolites Hypertimes," in *Mémorial Louis Petit. Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Byzantines* (Bucharest, 1948), pp. 152–78.

25 AP 1:336–40.

26 AP 2:17.

pretend to the title "of Kiev" and referred to himself as the "metropolitan of all Rus'."[27]

Cyprian was consecrated with the title "of Kiev and of Lithuania" in December 1375, still during Aleksii's lifetime.[28] However, the grand prince of Muscovy did not recognize Cyprian until 1381. In 1380 Pimen was appointed metropolitan "of Great Rus'," with the additional title "of Kiev."[29] Pimen's signature, in Cyrillic, beneath a charter of excommunication issued by Patriarch Nilos in June 1380 ran thus: Смѣреныї митрополитъ Поиминъ киѥвьс[кии] и Великое Руси†.[30]

Cyprian's title became more exact: beginning in June 1380, he was apparently called "metropolitan of Little Rus' and Lithuania."[31] In the event of Cyprian's death, the Synod in Constantinople promised to transfer to Pimen the lands of "Little Rus' and Lithuania," and in that case Pimen would be fully justified in calling himself "the metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus'."[32] The political significance of this title was understood in 1380: it signaled the unification of all eparchies of the metropolitanate, with the exception of the dioceses of Halych and Peremyshl', which fell under the authority of the independent metropolitan Antonii (appointed in 1371).[33]

During his short and unsuccessful rule of the metropolitanate from Moscow in 1381–1382, Cyprian called himself митрополит всеѧ Рѹси ("metropolitan of all Rus'").[34] Earlier, on 23 June 1378, contrary to his status according to the decision of the Synod of Constantinople, Cyprian sent an epistle to Moscow in his capacity as митрополитъ всея Руси ("metropolitan of all Rus'").[35] The same title—μητροπολίτης πάσης Ῥωσίας—is part of Cyprian's signature under the synodal act issued in Sep-

[27] RIB 6, no. 19; RFA 2, no. 95 (1356–1357).

[28] AP 2: 15; Darrouzès, *Régistre*, p. 372.

[29] AP 2: 17–18.

[30] AP 2: 8.

[31] AP 2: 7, 18.

[32] AP 2: 7, 18; Darrouzès, *Régistre*, p. 373.

[33] AP 1: 525–27; Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, p. 399; N. D. Tikhomirov, *Galitskaia mitropoliia* (St. Petersburg, 1895), pp. 122–24; A. V. Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii Russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1959), p. 337; M. Stasiw, *Metropolia Haliciensis (eius historia et iuridica forma)* (Rome, 1960), pp. 33–37; J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1981); I used the Russian translation: *Vizantiia i Moskovskaia Rus': Ocherk po istorii tserkovnykh i kul'turnykh sviazei v XIV veke* (Paris, 1990), pp. 232–33ff.

[34] DDG, no. 10, p. 29 (a copy from the end of the fifteenth century can be found in TsGADA, fond 135, otd. I, rubr. II, no. 6).

[35] RIB 6, col. 173 (the charter from the 1493 manuscript is found in GPB, Solov. 858).

tember 1379.[36] Pimen used only the short title until he was exiled, a fact reflected in the original manuscript of the treaty of 25 March 1389 (митрополит всеа Рус[и]).[37] Pimen was finally defrocked in February 1389 by the authority of Patriarch Antonii, and the title "metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus'" was officially transferred to Cyprian.[38]

Does this mean that from February 1389 Cyprian was already calling himself metropolitan "of Kiev and all Rus'"? Or did he prefer a shorter title, as is evident from his epistle of 1378, the signature of 1379, and the treaty of 1382? The practice of Cyprian's immediate predecessors, i.e., Aleksii and Pimen, who were confirmed with the longer title but who did not include in their titles the designation "of Kiev," allows us to suppose that Cyprian followed their example.

Cyprian left Constantinople on 1 October 1389[39] and arrived in Moscow on 6 March 1390.[40] From that time on and for the next several years, no documents with the full title of the metropolitan have survived. More importantly, it is the shorter title that appears in Cyprian's charter to the Emperor Constantine Monastery in Vladimir, issued on 21 October 1391, and which is to be found in two reliable copies—GIM, Sinod. 276 and Uvar. 512.[41] V. Kuchkin believes that Cyprian began using the full title in 1391. As confirmation of his hypothesis, he relies on two points: the first use of the full title appears in the chronicle story of Cyprian's journey to Novgorod in the winter of 1391;[42] and, in Cyprian's charter to Archbishop Ioann of Novgorod (Kuchkin believes this charter was issued on 29 August 1392),[43] the metropolitan calls himself not only by the short, but also by the long title.

As E. Golubinskii has shown,[44] however, Cyprian's epistle to Novgorod could not have been written in 1392. At this time, the citizens of Novgorod found themselves under Cyprian's interdiction, which was not lifted until the fall of 1393,[45] and the metropolitan could not, therefore, send epistles to Novgorod. In dating the charter (6900, which corresponds to the year 1391/2 in the contemporary calendar), the copyists probably omitted one or

36 AP 2:6; compare Darrouzès, *Régistre*, p. 372.
37 DDG, no. 11, p. 30 (the original text has been published: TsGADA, fond 135, otd. I, rubr. II, no. 7); on the date, see PSRL 18:138.
38 AP 2:218; Darrouzès, *Régistre*, p. 380.
39 See Darrouzès, *Régistre*, p. 379; AI 1:473; PSRL 11:101.
40 PSRL 23:131; compare PSRL 11:101 and 15, pt. 1, col. 158.
41 ASEI 3, no. 5; AFZKh 1, no. 20.
42 Kuchkin, *Povesti o Mikhaile Tverskom*, p. 81.
43 For its publication see RIB 6, no. 26, cols. 229–32.
44 E. E. Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1900), p. 329.
45 PSRL 25:221; NPL, p. 386; PSRL 4, pt. 1, no. 2, p. 374.

two of the last letters referring to the decade and year. Cyprian's letter must have been written later than 1391—possibly on 29 August 1395 or, according to Golubinskii, sometime between 29 August 1394 and 29 August 1400.[46]

In another letter to Novgorod, published in the *Collection of State Charters and Treaties*,[47] and dated by the editors to the fall of 1393, Cyprian calls himself metropolitan "of Kiev and all Rus'." However, the editors of the epistle did not indicate where they found the manuscript. My research has led me to the most recent *Stepennaia kniga* (that of 1560–1563),[48] a fragment of which was published in the aforementioned collection. The author of the *Stepennaia kniga* took Cyprian's letter from the Nikon Chronicle; and the text of the Nikon Chronicle surely is, in turn, a reworking of the Novgorod Chronicles, in which not only are no titles listed but in which Cyprian appeals to the Novgorodians in a *slovo*, not in an epistle—that is, in a speech to the citizens and thus without his official title.[49]

The chronicle's usage of the title of metropolitan needs to be carefully examined, as is apparent from the above example and from such similar cases as a version of the *Life* of Sergii of Radonezh (included in the Nikon Chronicle) that refers to Theognostos as the "metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus',"[50] although we know that Theognostos never bore that title. Kuchkin points to three chronicles—the *Troitskaia*, the *Simeonovskaia*, and the Novgorod I—that bestowed upon Cyprian the full title in their accounts of the latter's trip to Novgorod in 1391 (which, in all probability, took place in 1392; see below). However, the Novgorod I Chronicle, not only in this instance but in general, does not call Cyprian "metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus'."[51]

What Kuchkin calls the *Troitskaia* Chronicle is in fact a reconstruction provided by M. Priselkov.[52] The relevant part appears to be based on the most recent *Voskresenskaia* Chronicle (1542–1544).[53] The *Simeonovskaia*

46 For commentary see RFA 4: 891–92.

47 *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1819), no. 13.

48 P. G. Vasenko, *"Kniga Stepennaia tsarskogo rodosloviia" i ee znachenie v drevnerusskoi istoricheskoi pis'mennosti* (St. Petersburg, 1904), pt. 1.

49 PSRL 20, pt. 1, p. 416; 11: 155; 4, pt. 1, no. 2, p. 374; 16, col. 137.

50 PSRL 11: 131.

51 NPL, pp. 384ff; see the Novgorod IV Chronicle and the Chronicle of Avraamka: PSRL 4, pt. 1, no. 2, p. 370; 16, cols. 135–36.

52 Compare TL; M. D. Priselkov, "O rekonstruktsii teksta Troitskoi letopisi 1408 g., sgorevshei v Moskve v 1812 g.," in *Uchenye zapiski Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo instituta* (Leningrad, 1939), pp. 5–42.

53 TL, p. 438. For more information about the *Voskresenskaia* Chronicle, see S. A. Levina, "Letopis' Voskresenskaia," in *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*, no. 2, pt. 2 (Leningrad, 1989), pp. 39–42.

Chronicle actually calls Cyprian by the full title,[54] and that evidence corroborates the *Rogozhskii Letopisets*.[55] Accordingly, the *Svod of 1408* is the protograph of the *Troitskaia* Chronicle.[56] The presence of Cyprian's full title in the description of his trip to Novgorod follows the *Svod of 1408*, where it makes use of the grand princely *Svod of 1472*, which is reflected in the *Vologodsko-Permskaia* and the *Nikanorovskaia* Chronicles (Кипреян митрополит киевъскии и всеа Русии).[57] The compilers of the *Svod of 1479* (which is based on the *Svod of 1472*) were not unaware of the exact form of the title, and, keeping in mind the disputes over the titles which occurred in the 1460s and 1470s (for example, when Metropolitan Gregorios Bulgar was recognized by Patriarch Dionysios of Constantinople in 1467 and at the election in 1473/4 of Bishop Misail Pstryckij to the metropolitanate "of Kiev and all Rus' "), they refused to use Cyprian's full title and called him simply "metropolitan."[58]

It seems to me that the relatively earlier evidence of the *Svod of 1408*, which was probably compiled in the office of the metropolitan, suffices for our purposes. Usually, the chronicles from the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries do not pay particular attention to the titles of the head of the Church. More often than not they refer to him simply as "metropolitan." Therefore, the evidence found in the chronicles for 1391/92 seems to be an exception to the rule, but in this case I prefer to trust their evidence concerning the change in the title of the metropolitan. The three epistles that first used the full title of metropolitan were compiled in April and May 1395: two letters from Cyprian to Pskov dated 12 May[59] and an appeal to the Novgorod clergy sent between 28 March and 29 May.[60] These three epistles are found in the manuscripts GBL, Rum. 204 and Rogozhsk. 256, copied from Pskov manuscripts probably from the second quarter of the fifteenth century.[61] The edificational letter to the Novgorod clergy is found in the two same manuscripts and in GIM, Sinod. 562. It is likely that

54 PSRL 18: 141.

55 PSRL 15, pt. 1, col. 161.

56 A. A. Shakhmatov, *Simeonovskaia letopis' XVI v. i Troitskaia nachala XVI v.* (St. Petersburg, 1910); Ia. S. Lur'e, *Obshcherusskie letopisi XIV–XV vv.* (Leningrad, 1976), pp. 36–66.

57 PSRL 26: 163; 27: 257. Compare A. A. Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie letopisnykh svodov XIV–XVI vv.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1938), pp. 346–52.

58 PSRL 24: 158; 25: 219; 27: 335; 28: 86 and 250; and 23: 132 (the *Ermolinskaia* Chronicle, very similar to the *Svod of 1479*).

59 RIB 6, nos. 27 and 28.

60 RIB 6, no. 29; RFA 2, no. 135

61 Ia. N. Shchapov, *Vizantiiskoe i iuzhnoslavianskoe pravovoe nasledie na Rusi v XI–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 229–32; RFA 3, p. 552.

another one of Cyprian's epistles to Novgorod that contained the full title of metropolitan[62] was sent on 29 August 1394.

The changes in Cyprian's title appeared between 1391/92 and 1394/95, probably when he first arrived in Novgorod. Can we fix this date more precisely? As far as we know, the metropolitan used the shorter title on 21 October 1391. The chronicles provide us with two completely different versions of Cyprian's first trip to Novgorod. The *Svod of 1408* states that the metropolitan was in Novgorod during the summer months and left the city shortly before Savoir (Спасов) Day (6 August 1391).[63] However, the *Svod of the End of the Fifteenth Century* confirms that Cyprian's journey to Novgorod probably took place after 8 August 1391.[64] According to the *Svod of 1518*, Cyprian arrived in Novgorod sometime after 15 August 1391.[65] The *Tverskoi sbornik* dates the metropolitan's trip to the winter months: "той же зимы."[66] The evidence given in the Novgorod I Chronicle dates Cyprian's arrival to "тои же зимѣ," and appears after the evidence concerning the Niburov Treaty—the peace treaty between the citizens of Novgorod and the Hanseatic League, signed in January or February 1392.[67] The chronicle does not say precisely when in 1392 Cyprian arrived in Novgorod. However, thereafter—for example in 1395—Cyprian usually arrived in Novgorod sometime in March and stayed through May.[68] During this period of the year, he hoped to bring his case before an appelate judge, and he wanted the citizens of Novgorod to pay him taxes.[69] It is most likely that in 1392 Cyprian also arrived in Novgorod in March or April and remained for two weeks.[70] And, if this is so, the first use of Cyprian's full title would have appeared not in 1391, as Kuchkin believes, but in March/April 1392.

Sometime after 21 October 1391 (when Cyprian used the short title for the last time) and between March 1392 (when the full title probably appeared in political practice) and August 1394 (when Cyprian signed the first survival charter with the metropolitan's full title), an event occurred that potentially could affect the process of change in the title of the head of

62 RIB 6, no. 26.
63 PSRL 15, pt. 1, cols. 161–62; 18: 141.
64 PSRL 25: 219.
65 PSRL 28: 250.
66 PSRL 15, col. 446.
67 GVNP, no. 46.
68 NPL, p. 387; PL 2: 107 (from 28 March to 29 May 1395).
69 Golubinskii, *Istoriia* 2, pt. 1: 315–17; for further explanation, see especially A. I. Pliguzov and A. L. Khoroshkevich, "Russkaia tserkov' i antiordynskaia bor'ba v XIII–XV vv.," in *Tserkov', obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v feodal'noi Rossii. Sbornik statei* (Moscow, 1990), p. 99.
70 For more about the dating of Cyprian's stay, see the chronicle: NPL, p. 385.

the Rus' Church and almost certainly did so. After October 1391, Metropolitan Antonii of Halych died. Jagiello's protégé was Bishop John of Luts'k. (Patriarch Anthony IV wrote in October 1393 that the successor for Antonii of Halych, John, bishop of Luts'k, had in effect been in charge of Halych already for about two years.)[71] Some twenty years prior to his death, in 1371, the late metropolitan Antonii had received the blessing of the patriarch to head the eparchies of Volodymyr, Peremyshl', Kholm, and Halych,[72] i.e., Volyn' and the land of Halych. If Jagiello could maintain jurisdiction over the land of Halych, as was actually the case, then the diocese of Halych would retain its independence from Moscow.

The only uncertainty concerned the limits of the power of the bishop of Halych. The promotion of Vitold in 1391–1392 and his struggle for confirmation as the "Grand Duke of Lithuania" was accompanied by arguments with Jagiello over the share of Kejstut's inheritance which Vitold was to receive.[73] The candidate for metropolitan, John of Halych, had a cathedral in Luts'k; his eparchy was previously not a part of the Halych diocese, but John had designs on Peremyshl', Volodymyr of Volyn, Halych, and, most likely, Kholm. The supposition can be made that Vitold, who ruled Luts'k after 1384, would, in opposing the efforts of Jagiello, support Metropolitan Cyprian. Thus, the metropolitan of Moscow was presented with the opportunity of subordinating the diocese of Halych to his jurisdiction, which would end the division of the Kievan metropolitanate, or, in the worst case—making use of the rivalry between Jagiello and Vitold—would cause the eparchies of Kholm and Volodymyr to break away. Cyprian's tactics were successful. In October 1393, John, the bishop of Luts'k, not having obtained the blessing of the patriach, fled from Constantinople.[74] On his heels, Patriarch Anthony IV sent epistles to Metropolitan Cyprian and King Jagiello, demanding that John be removed from the see.[75] In any case, Cyprian's rival had been deprived of his see by 7 October 1397 when Cyprian returned to Moscow, after a one-and-a-half-year stay in Lithuania, accompanied by, among others, Theodore, the new bishop of Luts'k.[76] It was around this time (perhaps no earlier than 19 March 1396) that Cyprian

71 AP 2: 181.

72 AP 1: 578–80; Darrouzès, *Régistre*, p. 371; Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, p. 339; M. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 4 (New York, 1955), pp. 138–41.

73 Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia* 4: 140–41; J. Bardach, *Studia z ustroju i prawa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVII w.* (Warsaw, 1970), pp. 18–38.

74 AP 2: 180–81.

75 AP 2: 180–81; compare M. Chubatyi, *Istoriia khrystyianstva na Rusi-Ukraini*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Rome, 1976), p. 77.

76 PSRL 25: 227.

took part in the meeting between Vasilii II and Vitold in Smolensk. Vitold's loyalty to Cyprian's interests must have been one of the conditions of this meeting.

The symbolic expression of this strategy was the change in the title of the Moscow metropolitan. By calling himself the head of the diocese of "Kiev and all Rus'," Cyprian recalled for his opponents the time of Patriarch Philotheos, when this title signified the ideal unity of the entire Kievan diocese.[77] In order to remind the citizens of Novgorod about the title, established for him by the patriarch of Constantinople, Cyprian emphasized the impossibility of creating a special diocese in Lithuania. In this matter he demanded recognition of his authority by autonomous Novgorod, which had often been aligned with Lithuania.

The title "metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus'" was thus accepted by Cyprian for the first time between March 1392 and August 1394. Shortly after, between 15 December 1448 and the fall of 1450, the title was shortened by Iona to "metropolitan of all Rus'."[78] But between the fall of 1450 and 22–31 March 1461, this title was again restored to its longer form to include the definition "Kievan," which was part of the title of Metropolitans Cyprian, Photios, Isidore, and Iona.

On or shortly after 17 January 1459, Metropolitan Gregorios Bulgar left Rome and traveled to the Orthodox eparchies of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[79] A letter of recommendation from Pope Pius II named Gregorios *archiepiscopus Chieuensis et totius Russiae*.[80] On 18 February 1467, Patriarch Dionysios of Constantinople recognized this title as applying only to Gregorios and not to the Muscovite metropolitans.[81] Gregorios's successors in Lithuania also gave themselves the title of "metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus'," and this title was again accepted by the patriarchs of Constantinople. In Moscow Gregorios's Lithuanian successors were titled more modestly Киевский митрополит,[82] but those metropolitans who resided in Moscow used a shorter title—всея Руси.

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77 Meyendorff, *Byzantium* (Russian ed.), pp. 214–42.
78 See above, fn. 20.
79 DPR 1, nos. 93–94; Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, p. 87.
80 DPR 1, no. 93.
81 Ia. N. Shchapov, *Vostochnoslavianskie i iuzhnoslavianskie rukopisnye knigi v sobraniiakh Pol'skoi Narodnoi Respubliki*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1976), pp. 145–47. For the correct dates of Patriarch Dionysios's tenure, see G. Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453–1821)* (Munich, 1988), p. 398.
82 SIRIO 35 (1882): 479, 481.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AI	*Akty istoricheskie, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu*, vol. 1. Moscow, 1841.
AFZKh	*Akty feodal'nogo zemlevladeniia i khoziaistva*, vol. 1. Moscow, 1951.
AP	Miklosich, F. and I. Müller. *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 2 vols. Vienna, 1860 and 1862.
ASEI	*Akty sotsial'no-èkonomicheskoi istorii Severo-Vostochnoi Rusi kontsa XIV–nachala XVI v.*, 3 vols. Moscow, 1952–1964.
GBL	Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR im. V. I. Lenina, Moscow.
GIM	Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii muzei, Moscow.
GPB	Gosudarstvennaia publichnaia biblioteka im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina, Leningrad.
GVNP	*Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*. Moscow and Leningrad, 1949.
DDG	*Dukhovnye i dogovornye gramoty velikikh i udel'nykh kniazei XIV–XVI vv*. Moscow and Leningrad, 1950.
DPR	*Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantia (1075–1953)*, vol. 1. Rome, 1953.
NPL	*Novgorodskaia Pervaia letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov*. Moscow and Leningrad, 1950.
PL	*Pskovskie letopisi*, vol. 2. Moscow, 1955.
PSRL	*Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, vol. 1, St. Petersburg, 1846; vol. 4, pt 1, no. 2, Leningrad, 1925; vol. 11, St. Petersburg, 1897; vol. 15, St. Petersburg, 1863; vol. 15, pt. 1, Petrograd, 1922; vol. 16, St. Petersburg, 1889; vol. 18, St. Petersburg, 1913; vol. 20, pt 1, St. Petersburg,1910; vol. 23, Petrograd, 1921; vol. 24, Petrograd, 1921; vol. 25, Moscow and Leningrad, 1949; vol. 26, Moscow and Leningrad, 1959; vol. 27, Moscow and Leningrad, 1962; vol. 28, Moscow and Leningrad, 1963.
RIB	*Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka, izdavaemaia Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu*, vol. 6. St. Petersburg, 1908.
RFA	*Russkii feodal'nyi arkhiv XIV–pervoi treti XVI veka*. Vol. 1+. Moscow, 1986+.
SIRIO	*Sbornik Imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva*. St. Petersburg.
SOKM	Smolenskii oblastnoi muzei-zapovednik, Smolensk.
TL	*Troitskaia letopis': Rekonstruktsiia teksta*. Moscow and Leningrad, 1950.
TsGADA	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov, Moscow.

On the Reception of Ivan Vyšens'kyj's Writings among the Old Believers*

HARVEY GOLDBLATT

I

Ivan Vyšens'kyj[1] is generally seen as "perhaps the most important writer of the period of the renascence of Ukrainian cultural life of the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century,"[2] and as "one of the most prominent figures in the entire history of Ukrainian literature."[3] Whether viewed as apostle and prophet,[4] progressive fighter for national liberation,[5] proponent of "humanistic values,"[6] or retrograde "apologist for ignorance,"[7] the

* I take pleasure in recording my gratitude to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for a grant which supported the research for this article.

1 On the life and writings of Ivan Vyšens'kyj, see N. F. Sumcov, "Ioann Vyšenskij (Južnorusskij polemist načala XVII st.)," *Kievskaja starina* 11 (1885): 649–77; I. P. Žytec'kyj (Žiteckij), "Literaturnaja dejatel'nost' Ioanna Višenskogo," *Kievskaja starina* 29 (1890): 494–532; I. Franko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj i jeho tvory* (Lviv, 1895) (cited after Ivan Franko, *Zibrannja tvoriv u p'jatdesjaty tomax*, vol. 30 [Kiev, 1981], pp. 7–211); A. Kryms'kyj (Krymskij), "Ioann Vyšenskij, ego žizn' i sočinenija," *Kievskaja starina* 50 (1895): 211–47 (cited after A. Ju. Kryms'kyj, *Tvory v p'jaty tomax*, vol. 2 [Kiev, 1972], pp. 380–455); J. Tretiak, *Piotr Skarga w dziejach i literaturze Unii brzeskiej* (Cracow, 1912), esp. pp. 233–87; M. S. Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2, *Viky XVI–XVIII* (Lviv, 1921), pp. 125–70; M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 5 (Kiev, 1927), pp. 284–352; I. P. Eremin (Jer'omin), *Ivan Višenskij. Sočinenija* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955), pp. 223–335; I. P. Jer'omin, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj. Tvory* (Kiev, 1959), pp. 3–39; P. K. Jaremenko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj* (Kiev, 1982); V. O. Ševčuk, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj. Tvory* (Kiev, 1986), pp. 3–18; I. Z. Myc'ko, "Čar arxivnyx svidčen'. Materialy do biohrafij slavetnyx publicystiv," *Žovten'*, 1987, no. 3, pp. 90–96; A. I. Pašuk, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj—myslytel' i borec'* (Lviv, 1990). For a bibliography of Ivan Vyšens'kyj, see, *inter alia*, L. E. Maxnovec', comp. *Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky: Biobibliohrafičnyj slovnyk*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1960), pp. 230–36; Jaremenko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj*, pp. 118–40.

2 See G. Grabowicz, "The Question of Authority in Ivan Vyšens'kyj: A Dialectics of Absence," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/1989): 781.

3 S. P. Pinčuk, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj. Žyttja i tvorčist'* (Kiev, 1968), p. 5.

4 See P. A. Kuliš, *Istorija vossoedinenija Rusi*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1874), pp. 289–319.

5 See, for example, Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 223–71.

6 See V. S. Xaritonov, "Ivan Vyšens'kyj i rozvytok idej jevropejs'koho humanismu," in *Literaturna spadščyna Kyjivs'koji Rusi i ukrajins'ka literatura XVI–XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1981), pp. 197–222.

7 The formula "apologiste de l'ignorance" was first introduced in reference to Vyšens'kyj by Antoine Martel (*La langue polonaise dans les pays Ruthènes: Ukraine et Russie blanche, 1569–1667*, Travaux et mémoires de l'université de Lille, n.s., Droit et lettres, 20 [Lille,

"monk from the holy Athonite mountain" is usually considered the author of a series of "thundering epistles, written in the style of St. Paul"[8] that played a critical role in the defense of the Ruthenian Orthodox cultural heritage during the turbulent years leading up to and following the church union declared at Brest in 1596.[9]

In recent years, however, a number of scholars, in both the Soviet Union[10] and the West,[11] have finally begun to voice their displeasure with many of the historiographic schemes decisive in shaping both past and present attitudes towards Vyšens'kyj's oeuvre.[12] In calling for a

1938], pp. 259–66). Cf. G. Grabowicz, *Toward a History of Ukrainian Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 37–38.

8 Ševčuk, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj*, p. 7.

9 Typical, in this regard, are the conclusions, drawn by O. I. Bilec'kyj almost sixty years ago, on the Athonite monk's significance for Ruthenian literature: "Vyšens'kyj v literaturi XVI st.—takyj že 'uzlovij' punkt, jak 'Slovo o polku Ihorevim' dlja literatury XII st." (O. I. Bilec'kyj, "Problemy vyvčennja starovynnoji ukrajins'koji literatury do kincja XVIII storiččja," *Literaturna kritika*, 1936, no. 1, p. 90).

10 See, in particular, V. O. Ševčuk, "Ja prahnu byti korysnym rutenam," *Vsesvit*, 1986, no. 12, pp. 120–26; idem, "Vozroždenie i reformacija v ukrainskoj kul'ture XV–XVII vv.," *Filosofskaja i sociologičeskaja mysl'*, 1989, no. 4, pp. 82–84.

11 See Grabowicz, *Toward a History of Ukrainian Literature*, pp. 37–40; idem, "The Question of Authority in Ivan Vyšens'kyj"; H. Goldblatt, "On the Language Beliefs of Ivan Vyšens'kyj and the Counter-Reformation," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 15, no. 1/2 (June 1991): 7–34; idem, "Godlike 'Simplicity' *versus* Diabolic 'Craftiness': On the Significance of Ivan Vyshens'kyi's 'Apology for the Slavic Language,'" in *Living Record: Essays in Memory of Constantine Bida*, ed. I. Makaryk (Ottawa, 1992), pp. 1–19. My own research indicates that it is possible to speak of four separate but interrelated historiographic traditions. (1) A "national-patriotic" approach views Vyšens'kyj as the defender of Ruthenian-Ukrainian "national" identity, as well as its religious and cultural heritage, against the assaults of the Polish nation and its culture. This tendency, which has its origins in Romantic historiography, frequently transfers the modern acceptations of the words "nation" and "national" to earlier periods, when these terms had entirely different meanings. (2) A "Soviet-Marxist" trend focuses on him as the implacable foe of socioeconomic inequality, all magnates, and representatives of the upper clergy on all sides. Here one might include a body of scholarship which sees him as one in a series of political and social activists who have struggled to liberate the Ukrainian lands from "reactionary" Vatican influence as well as a historiographic tendency which establishes an intimate connection between, on the one hand, Vyšens'kyj's "democratic humanism" and "utopian beliefs" and, on the other hand, the ideological schemes of the "progressive" Protestant Reformation (in contradistinction to "retrograde" Counter-Reformation thought). (3) A "Russocentric" interpretation examines Vyšens'kyj's writings only as a parallel to or precursor of Russian cultural trends. This approach often underemphasizes (or even totally ignores) the separate development of Ukrainian culture. (4) A critical tendency reacts negatively to Vyšens'kyj's rejection of the "new Western learning," considering him an "apologist for ignorance" separated from the mainstream of culture and in opposition to "defenders of knowledge" such as Meletij Smotryc'kyj and Peter Mohyla. This historiographic trend frequently takes Vyšens'kyj to task for hindering the development of a Ruthenian vernacular and secular culture.

12 In many respects, these recent studies represent a return to the broad, comparative approach characteristic of the research carried out by Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, Volodymyr Peretc, and others until the 1920s but ruthlessly suppressed in the 1930s: see, for example,

reassessment of his writings independent of traditional patterns of thought and critical clichés (which, in some instances, could be traced back directly to the confrontation between "Orthodox" and "Catholic" culture linked with the Union of Brest),[13] some literary specialists have insisted that the application of conventional historiographic formulas be replaced by a process of interpretive "restructuring"[14] which would not only establish the context and basic parameters of Vyšens'kyj's thought, and identify the distinctive features of his prose style,[15] but also elucidate a series of striking paradoxes that result from an examination of this "eminently medieval" yet also "remarkably innovative" literary figure and his role in the cultural and literary process of the Ruthenian lands.

One of the most salient paradoxes involves our very perception of Vyšens'kyj's impact on the Ruthenian cultural and intellectual life of his time. In fact, the significance and mode of reception which modern scholarship continues to ascribe to Vyšens'kyj's oeuvre may not actually reflect the true state of affairs in the Ruthenian lands during the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century. In the first place, it appears that not only the Orthodox magnates and nobles but also the burgher group so instrumental in establishing confraternities in Lviv, Ostroh, and other centers regarded Vyšens'kyj's writings as "crude" and "lacking in artistic merit."[16] In the second place, we should not forget that in lists of "significant Orthodox writers" included in both Orthodox and Uniate tracts of the time Vyšens'kyj's name is nowhere to be found.[17] Finally, it should be

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Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, 5:284–352; V. N. Peretc, "Ivan Višenskij i pol'skaja literatura XVI veka. Issledovanija i materialy po istorii starinnoj ukrainskoj literatury XVI–XVIII vekov, 1." *Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti* 101, no. 2 (1926): 15–47.

13 For a discussion of these historiographic clichés, see D. Frick, "Meletius Smotricky and the Ruthenian Question in the Age of the Counter-Reformation" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1983), pp. 39–75; F. Sysyn, "Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy in Recent Western Works: Divergent Views on Seventeenth-Century Ukrainian Culture," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8, no. 1/2 (June 1984): 155–87.

14 Grabowicz, "The Question of Authority in Ivan Vyšens'kyj," p. 781.

15 On the difficulty of applying conventional labels such as "Renaissance," "Reformation," and "Baroque" to Vyšens'kyj's oeuvre, see Grabowicz, *Toward a History of Ukrainian Literature*, pp. 37–38.

16 Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 232. The precise relationship between Vyšens'kyj and the confraternities and their educational activity deserves further study. See, for now, Ja. D. Isajevyč, *Bratstva ta jix rol' v rozvytku ukrajins'koji kul'tury XVI–XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1966); V. O. Ševčuk, "Ivan Vyšens'kyj ta L'vivs'ke bratstvo," in *Prohresyvna suspil'no-polityčna dumka v borot'bi proty feodal'noji reakciji ta katolyc'ko-uniatskoji ekspansiji na Ukrajini* (Lviv, 1988), pp. 72–75. See fn. 20 below.

17 In the Orthodox treatise *Palinodija*, Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's list of "new doctors of the Eastern Church," compiled from contemporary Ukrainian polemicists, excludes the name of the monk from the "holy Athonite mountain"; see *Pamjatniki polemičeskoj literatury v zapadnoj*

remembered that, with perhaps one exception,[18] none of Vyšens'kyj's writings appeared in print during his lifetime. A number of arguments have been advanced to explain why Vyšens'kyj's oeuvre never became an integral part of the educational and printing revival that took place in the Ruthenian lands in this period.[19] What is clear is that Vyšens'kyj's rejection of almost all aspects of intellectual and cultural life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth—including the "new learning" that characterized the educational curriculum of the confraternity schools[20]—encountered strong resistance even among many of the staunchest opponents of the Union of Brest. It is, therefore, a curious fact that Vyšens'kyj's rhetorically charged condemnation of all existing ecclesiastical, political, and social institutions "in Rus', in the Polish Kingdom" seems to have been most enthusiastically

Rusi, vol. 1 (=Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka, 4), (St. Petersburg, 1878), col. 913. Likewise, in the Uniate tract *Sowita wina* (Vilnius, 1621), Venjamin Ruc'kyj's enumeration of all major Orthodox writers of his time fails to mention Vyšens'kyj; see *Akty jugo-zapadnoj Rossii*, pt. 1, vol. 7 (Kiev, 1887), p. 492. Cf. Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 232.

[18] In 1598 the "Ostroh School" of Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyj published a "book" in ten chapters (*Knyžyca v desjati otdelax*) which, in the opinion of some scholars, may have served as a model for Vyšens'kyj's *Knyžka Ioanna mnixa Višenskoho ot svjatyja afonskia hory* (compiled ca. 1600), also consisting of ten "chapters"; see Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 292–93. The Ostroh volume, printed in deliberate response to the Union of Brest, includes as chapter 10 (fols. 126^{v}–136^{r}) an anonymous "epistle," sent from Mt. Athos (*ot svjatoe Afonskoe hory skitstvujuščix*) to Prince Ostroz'kyj (*blahočestivomu knjažati Vasiliju*), which was first identified by Ivan Franko as an "abbreviated redaction" of chapter 5 of Vyšens'kyj's *Knyžka*—the so-called *Poslanie k utekšim ot pravoslavnoe vîry episkopom* (i.e., the initiators of the Brest Union); see Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 303–6, 329–32. This "short version" of chapter 5, which differs significantly both in language and organizing principle from the "extensive redaction," is the only work generally assigned by scholars to Vyšens'kyj which was printed in his lifetime. (On the possible connections between Vyšens'kyj and the "Ostroh School," see Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 297–301 and, most recently, I. Z. Myc'ko, "Ostrožskij kul'turno-prosvetitel'nyj centr i ego bor'ba protiv ideologičeskoj èkspansii katolicizma i unii na Ukraine [1576–1636]," Avtoreferat dissertacii na soiskanie učenoj stepeni kandidata istoričeskix nauk [Lviv, 1983]). In 1644, together with other writings from the Ostroh volume, it was reprinted in Moscow as "chapter 46" (fols. 501^{r}–505^{v}) of the collection known as the *Kirillova kniga*; see H. P. Niess, *Kirche in Russland zwischen Tradition und Glaube? Eine Untersuchung der Kirillova kniga und der Kniga o vere aus der 1. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Kirche im Osten. Studien zur osteuropäischen Kirchengeschichte und Kirchenkunde, 13) (Göttingen, 1977), esp. pp. 24–26, 37–38; A. S. Demin, *Pisatel' i obščestvo v Rossii XVI–XVII vekov* (Moscow, 1985), pp. 302–5. The *Kirillova kniga* was republished twice in the eighteenth century by the Old Believers (Grodno, 1786; Grodno, 1791). No other work attributed to Vyšens'kyj appeared in print until 1865; see fn. 61 below.

[19] See Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 292–93.

[20] On the educational activity of the confraternity schools, see S. T. Golubev, *Istorija Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii*, vol. 1, *Period domogilijanskij* (Kiev, 1886); K. V. Xarlampovič, *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye školy XVI i načala XVII veka* (Kazan', 1898); E. N. Medynskij, *Bratskie školy Ukrainy i Belorussii v XVI–XVII vv. i ix rol' v vossoedinenii Ukrainy s Rossiej* (Moscow, 1954); Isajevyč, *Bratstva ta jix rol' v rozvytku ukrajins'koji kul'tury*. See fn. 16 above.

received, and found its greatest popularity and diffusion, not among his compatriots but among the communities of Old Believers in Russia which flourished after the Moscow Council of 1666–1667 sanctioned the liturgical reforms of Patriarch Nikon and anathematized the fundamentalists who refused to accept them.

More than thirty-five years ago, in a brief study entitled "Toward the History of Ukrainian-Russian Literary Relations in the Seventeenth Century," I. P. Eremin discussed the significant role Vyšens'kyj's writings played in the manuscript tradition of the Old Believers.[21] In his article Eremin attributed the Athonite monk's popularity among the Old Believers to the fact that they were well acquainted with other Ruthenian works that had originally appeared in connection with the Union of Brest and, in particular, to their enthusiastic acceptance of Vyšens'kyj's frontal assault on the institutions of the Roman Church and its "Latin culture."[22] Finally, in Eremin's opinion, one had only to compare Vyšens'kyj's work with the writings of Archpriest Avvakum to understand the profound affinity of the Old Believers for many structures of the Athonite monk's thought.[23]

Since the publication of the above-mentioned study in 1953, scholars have continued to allude to the importance of the Athonite monk's work for the Old Believers and to focus on certain parallels between Vyšens'kyj and Avvakum.[24] Yet, surprisingly little attention has been devoted to elucidating the particular problem of textual transmission, the specific mode of reception, and, finally, the precise function of Vyšens'kyj's work among the Old Believers. The aim of this paper is to examine one aspect of the Old Believer manuscript tradition with the hope of filling this serious gap in Vyšens'kyj studies.

II

Vyšens'kyj's writings[25] have been preserved in at least twelve

[21] I. P. Eremin, "K istorii russko-ukrainskix literaturnyx svjazej v XVII veke," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 9 (1953): 291–96.

[22] Eremin, "K istorii russko-ukrainskix literaturnyx svjazej," pp. 293–94.

[23] Eremin, "K istorii russko-ukrainskix literaturnyx svjazej," p. 294.

[24] See, for example, A. N. Robinson, *Bor'ba idej v russkoj literature XVII veka* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 310–62; P. Hunt, "The Autobiography of the Archpriest Avvakum: Structure and Function," *Ricerche Slavistiche* 22-23 (1975–1976): 156–57.

[25] I am referring here to the corpus of Vyšens'kyj's "original writings" established by I. P. Eremin (*Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 272–80, 292–93, 313–16). On other aspects of Vyšens'kyj's literary activity, see Ja. N. Ščapov, *Sobranie I. Ja. Lukaševiča i N. A. Markeviča* (Moscow, 1959), pp. 82–86; idem, *Vostočnoslavjanskie i južnoslavjanskie rukopisnye knigi v sobranijax Pol'skoj Narodnoj Respubliki*, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1976), pp. 68–72; S. I. Smetanina, "Zapisi XVI–XVII vekov na rukopisjax sobranija E. E. Egorova," in *Arxeografičeskij ežegodnik za 1963 g.* (Moscow, 1964), p. 374; D. Bogdanović, *Katalog ćirilskih rukopisa manastiri Hilan-*

manuscripts,[26] one from the seventeenth century, two from the eighteenth century, and the remaining copies from the nineteenth century:

(1) The Lviv copy. [L] (LNB, Collection of Monastery Manuscripts, no. 3), seventeenth century, fols. 199^r-305^v.[27]
(2) The Tolstoy copy. [T] (GPB, Collection of F. A. Tolstoy, no. Q.I.243), early eighteenth century, fols. 1^r-165^v.[28]
(3) The Uvarov copy. [U] (GIM, Collection of A. S. Uvarov, no. 2009 [632/486]), early nineteenth century, fols. 218^r-536^v.[29]
(4) The Titov copy. [T^1] (GPB, Collection of A. A. Titov, no. 2425 [1333]), second half of the nineteenth century, fols. 109^r-120^r.[30]
(5) The Saratov copy. [S] (SGU, Collection of P. M. Mal'cev, no. 910 [505]), second half of the nineteenth century, fols. 163^r-180^r.[31]
(6) The Museum Copy. [M] (GBL, fond 178, Museum Collection, no. 4151), last third of the eighteenth century, fols. 43^v-69^r, 98^r-99^v.[32]
(7) The Egorov copy. [E] (GBL, fond 98, Collection of E. E. Egorov, no.

dara (Belgrade, 1978), pp. 223–24 (no. 649); V. P. Kolosova, "Avtograf Ivana Višenskogo," in *Fedorovskie čtenija 1978* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 126–33; idem, "Ivan Višenskij i Pavel Domživ-Ljutkovič," in *Fedorovskie čtenija 1979* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 24–33; Myc'ko, "Čar arxivnyx svidčen'," pp. 90–96.

26 In his "Archaeographic Survey of Ivan Vyšens'kyj's Writings," Eremin examined and compared five textual witnesses: namely, (1) the Lviv copy, (2) the Tolstoy copy, (3) the Uvarov copy, (4) the Titov copy, and (5) the Saratov copy (Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 272–80). Cf. fn. 39 below. I am deeply indebted to Dr. A. A. Turilov of the Institute of Slavistics and Balkan Studies, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, for his assistance in locating additional testimonies. It is probable, moreover, that there are other Old Believer codices containing Vyšens'kyj's writings in the manuscript repositories of the Soviet Union.

27 For a detailed description of the manuscript, see Ja. Hordyns'kyj, "Rukopysy Biblioteky monastyria sv. Onufriia, ČSVV u L'vovi," vol. 1, in *Zapysky ČSVV/Analecta OSBM* 1, no. 1 (1924): 239–43.

28 A brief description is provided by K. F. Kalajdovič and P. M. Stroev, *Obstojatel'noe opisanie slavjanorossijskix rukopisej, xranjaščixsja v Moskve, v biblioteke... grafa F. A. Tolstogo* (Moscow, 1825), p. 111.

29 For a description of the manuscript, see Archimandrite Leonid, *Sistematičeskoe opisanie slavjano-russkix rukopisej sobranija grafa A. S. Uvarova* (Moscow, 1893–1894), vol. 4, pp. 379–80.

30 A short description is given in *Opisanie slavjano-russkix rukopisej, naxodjaščixsja v sobranii... člena-korrespondenta Obščestva ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti A. A. Titova* (St. Petersburg and Moscow, 1893–1913), vol. 2, p. 88.

31 For a general overview of the Mal'cev collection and bibliography, see L. A. Dmitriev, "Sobranie rukopisej naučnoj biblioteki Saratovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. N. G. Černyševskogo," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 16 (1960): 554–60.

32 According to the inventory of the Museum Collection found in the Manuscript Division of the Lenin State Library, this extremely interesting miscellany, in addition to excerpts from Vyšens'kyj's writings, contains "vypisi iz tolkovyx Evangelij i Apostola, otcov cerkvi, Knigi o vere, Knigi Kirrilovoj, Knigi Ignatija Bogoslava, Katexizisa bol'šogo, Knigi Baronija, Prenija o eresjax Antixrista... [i] sočinenij Iosifa Volockogo."

980), mid-nineteenth century, fols. 77^r-92^r.[33]

(8) The Prjanišnikov copy. [P] (GBL, fond 242, Collection of G. M. Prjanišnikov, no. 109), dated 1862, fols. 164^r-195^r.[34]

(9) The Rjazan' copy. [R] (GBL, fond 735, Rjazan' Collection, no. 7), dated 1860s, fols. 162^r-194^r.[35]

(10) The Kiev copy. [K] (UAK, Collection of the Ševčenko Institute of Literature, fond 20, no. 5), second half of the nineteenth century, fols. 212^r-257^r.[36]

(11) The Kostroma copy. [K^1] (Collection of M. T. Gojgel-Sokol), nineteenth century.[37]

(12) The Jaroslavl' copy. [Ja] (Collection of the Jaroslavl' State Museum Reserve, no. 111), dated to the 1860s.[38]

It is important to note that of the twelve manuscripts listed above, only one (L) is of Ruthenian (Ukrainian) provenance; the remaining eleven witnesses are of Russian origin and, of these, all but one (T) are the products of Old Believer communities.

In his examination of the five manuscripts known to him—namely, L, T, U, T^1, and S[39]—Eremin concluded that, on the basis of their contents, the textual witnesses could clearly be divided into two quite distinct groups.[40] In the first group he included the Lviv and Tolstoy copies (i.e., L, T), and in the second group the three remaining manuscripts (i.e., U, T^1, S). According to Eremin, the Lviv and Tolstoy copies go back to a single common protograph and contain one and the same series of works belonging to Vyšens'kyj. All copies of the second group, on the other hand, which are of

33 I am grateful to Dr. N. A. Kobjak of the Archaeographic Commission, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, for providing me with this information.

34 See L. V. Tiganova, *Opis' sobranija rukopisnyx knig G. M. Prjanišnikova* (Moscow, 1963).

35 See N. V. Trofimova, *Rjazanskoe sobranie rukopisnyx knig, fond 73. Opisanie* (Moscow, 1968).

36 For a description of the manuscript, see V. L. Mykytas' (Mikitas'), "Drevnie rukopisi Instituta literatury imeni T. G. Ševčenko Akademii nauk Ukrainskoj SSR," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 12 (1956): 506–7.

37 A brief description is given in M. T. Gojgel-Sokol, "Neizvestnyj russkij spisok proizvedenij I. Višenskogo," in *Prohresyvna suspil'no-polityčna dumka v borot'bi proty feodal'noji reakciji ta katolyc'ko-uniatskoji ekspansiji na Ukrajini* (Lviv, 1988), pp. 75–76. (Unfortunately, no foliation of the manuscript is provided here.)

38 I am grateful to Dr. Turilov for pointing out the existence and location of this manuscript. (Unfortunately, I have not had access to this textual witness.)

39 In point of fact, Eremin knew of six manuscripts, but one testimony (K), described by him as "recently discovered," plays no role in his analysis of the manuscript tradition; see Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 276, fn. 1.

40 Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 277–78.

late, Old Believer provenance, are united not only by the presence of the same works by Vyšens'kyj arranged in the same order, but also by the fact that in these manuscripts Vyšens'kyj's writings are preceded by the *Book On the True Unity of the Rightly Believing Christians of the Eastern Church*, a polemical tract compiled by Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj in the 1620s.[41]

Eremin's "archaeographic survey" of Vyšens'kyj's writings is accompanied by a list of textual variants.[42] It appears, however, that his presentation of a split in the manuscript tradition into two "branches" depends not on an evaluation of variant readings but on the contents and origins of the textual witnesses. Eremin's grouping of manuscripts, therefore, seems to be based primarily not on "textological" principles but rather on "codicological" criteria. Crucial here is the need to distinguish consistently between, on the one hand, textual criticism, which, on the basis of a collation, aims to group manuscripts in order to reach conclusions about a *stemma codicum*, and, on the other hand, the discipline of codicology, which seeks to arrange textual witnesses according to their "convoy" (i.e., the distribution of texts in a given codex).[43]

III

Scholars have long discussed Vyšens'kyj's "epistles" as parts of larger sets or collections.[44] By far the most important of these is *The Book [Knyžka] of*

41 *Knyha o pravdivoj edinosti pravovîrnyx xristian cerkvi vostočnoj. Tam že i pročix apostolatov i o ix lživoj unii, milostiju i pomoščiju Božieju. Az blahosloveniem staršix črez jeromonaxa Zaxarija Kopystens'kaho napisano.* On Kopystens'kyj's tract, see Metropolitan Evgenij (E. A. Bolxovitinov), "Zaxarij Kopystenskij," in *Slovar' istoričeskij o byvšix v Rossii pisateljax duxovnogo čina Greko-Rossijskoj cerkvi*, 2nd, rev. ed. (St. Petersburg, 1827), vol. 1, pp. 187–89; A. Popov, "Kniga o pravdivoj edinosti Zaxarii Kopistenskogo," in *Opisanie rukopisej i katalog knig cerkovnoj pečati biblioteki A. I. Xludova* (Moscow, 1872), nos. 94–95, pp. 239–42; B. Struminsky, "Printed Versions of the Palinodija," in *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 3 (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. xl–xli.

42 Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 280–91.

43 On the discipline of codicology, and the definition of "convoy," see D. S. Lixačev, *Tekstologija na materiale russkoj literatury X–XVII vv.*, 2nd rev. ed. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1983), pp. 49–54, 245–84, 555–57; R. Pope, "Hilandar No. 485 as a Sbornik and the Principles According to which it was Compiled," *Cyrillomethodianum* 5 (1981): 146–60.

44 On the collection conventionally entitled the *Knyžka Ioanna mnixa Višenskoho ot svjatyja afonskia hory*, see fn. 45 below. Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj was the first to hypothesize that a number of Vyšens'kyj's writings found only in U (fols. 239^v–360^r) might have constituted a new collection which the Athonite monk sent to Rus' around 1609 (*Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, 5: 431–32). It should be pointed out that Hruševs'kyj did not include in the supposed collection the *Poslanie l'vovskomu bratstvu, Poslanie Staricî Domnikii*, and *Poslanie Iovu Knjahinickomu*, that is, those writings not addressed to Piotr Skarga and found not only in U but also in T^1, S, and other Old Believer copies.

Monk Ivan Vyšhens'kyj from the Holy Athonite Mountain,[45] which did not appear in print as an integral unit until Eremin published the collection in 1955.[46] Relying on the textual material contained in three witnesses (i.e., L, T, U), the eminent Soviet scholar concluded that the *Knyžka* was compiled and sent to "all pious people living in Little Rus' " sometime between 1599 and 1601 and is a collection of Vyšens'kyj's writings produced up to that time; that is, one is confronted with not only works written before the Union of Brest (1596) but several new writings composed especially for the book.[47] According to what is found in Eremin's edition, the *Knyžka* consists of a title, an introduction, a table of contents, two prefaces, and ten "chapters." In his opinion, judging from the size and makeup of the final portions of the *Knyžka*, one may conclude that Vyšens'kyj's aim was to compile a collection which would comprise precisely ten chapters, and that this number was chosen with a particular model in mind—namely, another "book," also containing ten "chapters" (the so-called *Knyžyca v desjati otdelax*), which had been printed in Ostroh in 1598 to oppose the Union and had included an "epistle" apparently sent to Rus' by Vyšens'kyj from Mt. Athos.[48] However, even if it is true that Vyšens'kyj wanted his collection—as we read in the "introduction"—to be copied and spread throughout Rus' and the Polish Kingdom for the salvation of human souls,[49] the fact is that, unlike the Ostroh collection, the *Knyžka* did not appear in print during his lifetime.[50] Indeed, no part of the *Knyžka* was printed until the second half of the nineteenth century.[51]

What is of critical significance here is that we be aware of exactly "what" we are reading and, in this connection, precisely how the texts in question might have been transmitted to us. One should not forget, in this

[45] The conventional heading, *Knyžka Ioanna mnixa Višenskoho ot svjatyja afonskia hory*, are the initial words of an extensive title which opens a collection of writings attributed to "Ivan the monk from Vyšnja." One should note that this title, as well as the "introduction" which follows it, has come down to us in a single manuscript (L).

[46] Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 7–129.

[47] Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 292–93.

[48] See fn. 18 above. The similarity between the two "books" was first pointed out by Myxajlo Voznjak (*Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, 2: 154).

[49] Toward the end of the "introduction" we read: "Siju že terminu, načisto prevedši, i inšim vsîm znati o tom dajte, ponež ne o lyčko ili o remenec idet, ale o cîluju kožu, se est o spasenie duš našix i da ne pohibnem i dočasne i vîčne ot Boha živa" ("As to this writing, which has been entirely recopied, let others know about it as well, since one is dealing here not with a piece of bast or strip of leather but with the entire skin, that is, the salvation of our souls, lest we perish both on earth and eternally away from the living God" [Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 8]).

[50] See fn. 19 above.

[51] See fn. 61 below.

regard, that although Eremin indicates in his "archaeographic survey" that his edition of the *Knyžka* is based on "its oldest and best copy" (namely, L),[52] he is compelled to admit that, from the perspective of the *Knyžka* as an integral unit, this alleged *codex optimus* is "defective" and highly "unreliable": chapters 6–10 are absent and chapter 5 is missing a number of textual portions, including the ending.[53] Indeed, while it is true that all twelve textual witnesses listed above contain "common textual material"[54] that we find in the *Knyžka*, no extant codex of Vyšens'kyj's writings offers the apparently "complete" version of the collection presented in Eremin's edition.[55]

Of primary importance here is not that one or another witness is "defective" or "young," but that the extant textual documentation does not allow us to determine to what extent the scriptorial activities of an "open tradition"[56] may have preserved (or deviated from) an "original text" of the *Knyžka*. It is clear that any attempt to identify the precise limits of diverse textual limits—and this applies to "two levels of authorship,"[57] that is, to the composition of individual "chapters" and the compilation of the entire collection—inevitably involves an inquiry into the particular techniques of textual transmission among the Orthodox Slavs (including Ruthenian and Old Believer communities), where a scribe often performed the role not merely of a faithful or passive copyist but of a "reviser-coauthor" and "active participant" in the creation of a literary tradition.[58] In other words,

52 Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 276.

53 Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 272.

54 On this term, see R. Picchio, "Slavia ortodossa e Slavia romana," in his *Letteratura della Slavia ortodossa* (Bari, 1991), pp. 43–54.

55 As to the two textual witnesses other than L used by Eremin in preparing his edition of the *Knyžka*, T is lacking the title, introduction, table of contents, and textual portions from chapter 5, while U (as in the case of L) is missing chapters 6–10 and the final textual portion of chapter 5. According to Eremin, the compiler of U (or its protograph) had a defective copy of the *Knyžka*, without beginning or end (Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 274–75).

56 On the concept of "open tradition" for Orthodox Slavic literature, see R. Picchio, "In merito alla tradizione testuale russa antica," *Studi in onore di Arturo Cronia* (Padua, 1967), pp. 415–32; idem, "On the Textual Criticism of Xrabr's Treatise," in *Studies in Slavic Linguistics and Poetics in Honor of Boris O. Unbegaun*, ed. J. Allen III et al. (New York and London, 1968), pp. 139–47; idem, "Le canzoni epiche russe e la tradizione letteraria," in *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema: la poesia epica e la sua formazione* (Rome, 1970), pp. 467–80; idem, "Models and Patterns in the Literary Tradition of Medieval Orthodox Slavdom," in *American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists, (Warsaw, 1973)*, vol. 2, *Literature and Folklore*, ed. V. Terras (The Hague, 1973), pp. 453–57.

57 See R. Picchio, "Compilation and Composition: Two Levels of Authorship in the Orthodox Slavic Tradition," *Cyrillomethodianum* 5 (1981): 1–4.

58 For three decades the *tekstologija* of D. S. Lixačev—in particular, his emphasis on the "history of the text," which he identifies with the "history of textual changes"—has occupied a preeminent place in the discussions on the principles and methods of textual criticism to be

when dealing with Vyšens'kyj's writings, we should not forget that we are dealing with the continuity of a "medieval manuscript tradition"[59] for which the evidence of redactional intervention can never be discounted. Even if one can date one or another portion of the *Knyžka* (or even the entire collection) on the basis of both external and internal evidence, one cannot deduce as a logical result that an "original text" was transmitted faithfully in the codices known to us.[60]

IV

Ever since chapters 2 and 3 of the *Knyžka* were first published in 1865 by N. I. Kostomarov on the basis of T, two distinct but interrelated problems regarding their composition and relationship have been the subjects of considerable dispute.[61] Some scholars have argued that chapter 3 ought to be seen not as an independent textual unit but as a postscript to chapter 2.[62] As Eremin pointed out, the apparent lack of a heading in all copies has led many specialists to view the opening of chapter 3 as the direct continuation of another text.[63] Indeed, Kostomarov's edition (based on T) presents chapter 3 as the direct continuation of chapter 2.[64] It should also be noted that Archimandrite Leonid, in his description of U, indicated no division between chapters 2 and 3.[65] Ivan Franko observed that the initial words of chapter 3 (*Budi že vam izvîstno*. . .), although highlighted in cinnabar in L, provided the motivation for later copyists (i.e., of T and U) to append the text to the preceding "epistle" addressed to Prince Ostroz'kyj (i.e., "chapter

used in the study of Orthodox Slavic literature; see Lixačev, *Tekstologija na materiale russkoj literatury X–XVII vv*. For the debates over Lixačev's *tekstologija* and its relation to Western schools of textual criticism, see the illuminating article by Angiolo Danti: "O 'Zadonščina' i o filologii. Otvet D. S. Lixačevu," in *Istočnikovedenie literatury Drevnej Rusi*, ed. D. S. Lixačev et al. (Leningrad, 1981), pp. 71–91; Picchio, "Slavia ortodossa e Slavia romana," pp. 43–54; W. R. Veder, "Texts of Closed Tradition: The Key to the Manuscript Heritage of Old Rus'," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/1989): 314–323 (esp. p. 316, fn. 17).

59 On this term, see S. Nichols, "Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," *Speculum* 65 (1990): 1–10.

60 See, most recently, Picchio, "Slavia ortodossa e Slavia romana," pp. 43–54.

61 "N. I. Kostomarov, "Četyre sočinenija afonskogo monaxa Ioanna iz Višni, po povodu voznikšej v južnoj i zapadnoj Rusi unii, ili edinenie vostočnoj pravoslavnoj cerkvi s zapadnoju rimskoju (konca XVI veka)," in *Akty otnosjaščie k istorii južnoj i zapadnoj Rossii* 2 (1865): 205–70. On the basis of T, Kostomarov published chapters 2–6 of the *Knyžka*.

62 See Kryms'kyj, "Ioann Vyšenskij," p. 448; Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 297–98.

63 Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 298. According to Kryms'kyj ("Ioann Vyšenskij," pp. 441–42), "in two manuscripts [i.e., in T and U] [chapter 3] is fused with [chapter 2] into a single entity." Cf. Franko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj*, p. 150.

64 Kostomarov, "Četyre sočinenija afonskogo monaxa," p. 209.

65 Archimandrite Leonid, *Sistematičeskoe opisanie*, p. 380.

2").[66] In his opinion, an "exordium" was omitted here which briefly elucidated the contents of the work as well as the reasons for writing the chapter.[67]

Other scholars have expressed the view that chapter 3, as it has come down to us in L, T, and U, is lacking in conceptual or textual unity and represents a later compilation of two separate works written by Vyšens'kyj—namely, (1) "advice" (*porada*) on how to cleanse Christ's Church, and (2) an elaborate defense of monasticism.[68] More specifically, the question has been raised whether the extensive section of chapter 3 identified as an "apology for the monastic life" should be considered an individual compositional unit which does not tie in well with the preceding and subsequent "pieces of advice" offered by the Athonite monk on how to cleanse Christ's Church.[69]

Here, of course, we should remember that the questions which have been posited concerning the organizing principle of chapter 3 and its relationship to chapter 2, as well as the specificity of "type" or "genre," are hardly unique to Vyšens'kyj's *Knyžka*, or his oeuvre in general, but are rather typical of the problems connected with the study of the medieval manuscript culture of Orthodox Slavdom. Indeed, what has attracted the particular interest of a growing number of scholars is the "composite character" or "mosaic-like nature" of Orthodox Slavic literary monuments, that is, the threading of small but separate textual entities which might differ in genre into a thematic unity. Noteworthy here is what one critic has called the

66 Franko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj*, pp. 150–51.

67 According to Franko, the missing "exordium" is closely linked to the "heading" for chapter 3 found in the table of contents. In the "exordium," "Vyšens'kyj could have characterized in a few words the sad state of the Orthodox Church after the majority of bishops entered the Union. What follows are the words with which the treatise now begins but where the particle *že* indicates a direct link with something preceding it" (Franko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj*, pp. 150–51).

68 The "heading" to chapter 3 provided by the table of contents refers to these two motifs: "Porada, kako da sja očistit cerkov xristova. . .; žde i o poruganiju inočeskaho čina ot svîtskix i mirskago žitija čelovîk i čto est tajnstvo inočeskaho obraza. . . ." ("Advice on how to cleanse Christ's Church. . .; here there is also about the derision of the monastic order from lay people who observe a secular way of life. And what is the mystery of the monastic office" [Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 8]). However, only the first theme is mentioned in the opening textual portion of chapter 3: ". . . Posem i blahočestie pravovîrija cerkvi našee tako ispraviti sovît vam, istinen i neblaznen, daju" (". . . Whereupon I thus give you advice, true and firm, on how to restore the piety of Orthodoxy in our Church" [Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 22]).

69 Cf. Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 299–301. The "apology for the monastic life" is extensive indeed—it occupies almost nineteen of the twenty-three pages in Eremin's edition of chapter 3 (i.e., pp. 25–43).

"loose morphology" of the works in question,[70] that is, the presence of textual units which may exhibit a high degree of functional autonomy and which act as "fluid" and "open-ended" compositional structures.[71] For this reason, any literary "text" could represent the compilation of preexistent textual entities put together in a new "context."

Thus, if one examines the compositional designs of chapter 3, a striking characteristic of the entire chapter is that it is replete with textual units which have often been defined as "digressions" seemingly interfering with the principal genre and object of inquiry.[72] On the one hand, Vyšens'kyj's "advice" on how to cleanse Christ's Church is not only segmented by the above-mentioned "apology for the monastic life" but almost immediately "interrupted" by a functionally autonomous textual entity which offers a spirited defense of the Slavic language.[73] On the other hand, the "apology for the monastic life" not only reveals the "mysteries" or "secrets" of monasticism—as proposed in the table of contents[74]—but also condemns, in considerable detail, the luxurious life-style of the "princes of Rus'." Indeed, Vyšens'kyj's mode of presentation (i.e., his alleged inability to focus exclusively on his defense of the monasticism) led Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj to conclude that in chapter 3, paradoxically, the "apology for the monastic life" is transformed into a satire of the magnates' life-style in the manner of Mikołaj Rej.[75]

Given the keen interest shown in the compositional patterns and seams which divide chapters 2 and 3 of the *Knyžka*, it is surprising that more attention has not been focused on the particular conditions that affected the circulation of manuscripts in the Ruthenian lands and in succeeding traditions.

70 G. Lenhoff, "Categories of Early Russian Writing," *Slavic and East European Journal* 31 (1987): 261.

71 Picchio, "Models and Patterns in the Literary Tradition of Medieval Orthodox Slavdom," p. 453.

72 See Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 299–300. Cf. Eremin's observations on the genre used by Vyšens'kyj: "The fact is that Vyšens'kyj frequently did not keep his works within the framework of one or another genre. Almost every work by him is a peculiar fusion of all those genres in whose system he wrote. The dialogue in Vyšens'kyj often develops into an epistle, the epistle is transformed into a dialogue, the polemical treatise acquires the features which bring it nearer to the epistle or the dialogue. Among the works of Vyšens'kij there are many for which it is difficult to determine precisely what genre they belong to, or to what extent the attributes of all three genres are simultaneously intertwined in them" (*Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 266–67).

73 On this "apology for the Slavic language," see Goldblatt, "Godlike 'Simplicity' *versus* Diabolic 'Craftiness.'"

74 See fn. 68 above.

75 Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, 5:314–15; cf. Peretc, "Ivan Višenskij i pol'skaja literatura." On revealing stylistic affinities between the *Knyžka* and Rej's *Zywot człowieka poczciwego*, see also H. Goldblatt, "Isixasts'ka ideolohija u tvorčosti Ivana Vyšens'koho," *Filosofs'ka i sociolohična dumka* (forthcoming).

Indeed, it is clear that any analysis of compositional patterns in Vyšens'kyj's writings—above all, the task of identifying the precise limits of diverse textual units—must inevitably involve an inquiry into the particular techniques of textual transmission among the Orthodox Slavs (including the Old Believer writing centers). As I have already indicated, the literary historian is obliged to bear in mind that the "open tradition" of Orthodox Slavic literature maximized the chance that an alleged "original text" might not have been faithfully "transcribed" but, instead, might have been reshaped, expanded, shortened, or even dismembered in accordance with new conceptual or rhetorical needs. One should therefore never discount the possibility that even a textual version that seems to have been altered accidentally as a result of scribal error may reflect an intentional reworking of preexistent textual material on the basis of an innovative organizing principle or ideological design.[76]

None of this means, of course, that we should refrain from examining chapters 2 and 3—as they have come down to us in L, T, and U—within the context of the larger "collection" known as the *Knyžka*. Quite the opposite appears to be true, especially if we recall what D. S. Lixačev has said about smaller textual units which combine to form larger "ensembles,"[77] or what Riccardo Picchio has written about "two levels of authorship."[78] Indeed, we should not forget that no *documentary* evidence exists to support the status of chapters 2 and 3 as autonomous textual entities. And, as I have sought to show elsewhere, there is good textual evidence to suggest that—at certain stages in their transmission—the two chapters were to be interpreted in accordance with a general organizing principle governing the semantic structure of the entire *Knyžka*.[79]

[76] As shall be shown below, this consideration is of fundamental importance for the "abbreviated version" of chapter 3 found in all Old Believer copies but U and M. Cf. H. Goldblatt, "On 'rus'kymi pismeny' in the *Vita Constantini* and Rus'ian Religious Patriotism," in *Studia slavica medievalistica et humanistica Riccardo Picchio dicata*, ed. M. Colucci, G. Dell'Agata, and H. Goldblatt (Rome 1986), esp. pp. 314–20.

[77] D. S. Lixačev, *Razvitie russkoj literatury X–XVII vekov* (Leningrad, 1972), pp. 49–72; cf. K.-D. Seemann, "Genres and the Alterity of Old Russian Literature," *Slavic and East European Journal* 31 (1987): 252–53.

[78] Picchio, "Compilation and Composition."

[79] Note the opening words to the "introduction" of the *Knyžka*, which is found only in L: "Posylaju vam terminu o lži, kotoraja nad istinnoju u vašej zemli carstvuet, i Boh ot vsîx storon i častij xristianstva xulitsja duxi ž lukavii podnebesnii (k nim že bran', po Pavlu) v xristilajanstvî našem vladîjut, otnjudu že za nevîrie i besplodie naše popuščeni esmo v paspustînie z našeju prav''slavnoju vîroju" ("I send to you a writing on the falsehood which reigns over truth in your land; and there is blasphemy against God from all ends and parts of Christendom. And the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places [it is against them we are contending, according to St. Paul] rule over our Christian world, whence for unbelief and barrenness we have been led into destruction together with our Orthodox faith" [Eremin,

V

It is important to emphasize that the manner in which Vyšens'kyj's writings were received and transmitted among the Old Believers was indissolubly linked to the spiritual needs of what soon came to be regarded as a "new monastic civilization."[80] We should remember, in this regard, that when the Old Believer communities began to take shape in the late seventeenth century, a critical task involved the creation of writing centers and, more specifically, the formation of a corpus of authoritative texts. It is hardly accidental, therefore, that the community led by the brothers Andrej and Semen Denisov which had emerged in the 1690s along the Vyg River soon engaged in copying the entire Muscovite rhetorical corpus that had been produced in the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century.[81] Hence, even if we cannot determine exactly when Ivan Vyšens'kyj's writings became part of the Old Believer corpus,[82] we can be certain that the use of texts attributed to him was connected with a redactional attitude to (and therefore a reshaping of) parts of the Orthodox Slavic literary heritage in accordance with the ideological theses of the Old Believers.

My research suggests that, on the basis of contents and organizing principle,[83] the Old Believer textual witnesses containing writings attributed to Vyšens'kyj can be divided into four groups:[84]

(1) Manuscripts (including T^1, S, R, E, P) containing three works which are found only in Old Believer copies (i.e., *Epistle to the Lviv Confraternity*, *Epistle to Sister Domnikija*, and *Epistle to Iov Knjahynyc'kyj*) and are followed by what are often referred to as chapters 2 and 3 of the *Knyžka*.[85]

(2) Two manuscripts (K, K^1) which present the same material but as the final chapters of Kopystens'kyj's *Book on the True Unity*.[86]

Ivan Višenskij, p. 7]). On the importance of these lines—in particular, the reference to St. Paul (Eph. 6:12)—as a "spiritual leitmotif" for the *Knyžka*, see H. Goldblatt, "Godlike 'Simplicity' *versus* Diabolic 'Craftiness.' "

80 See J. H. Billington, *The Icon and the Axe. An Interpretive History of Russian Culture* (New York, 1970), p. 193.

81 See, in this regard, V. P. Vomperskij, "Vostočnoslavjanskie ritoriki XVII–načala XVIII veka," in *Slavjanskoe jazykoznanie. X Meždunarodnyj s''ezd slavistov, Sofija, Sentjabr' 1988 g. Doklady sovetskoj delegacii*, ed. N. I. Tolstoj (Moscow, 1988), pp. 90–102.

82 As noted above, our earliest Old Believer manuscript dates from the late eighteenth century (M), while all others are from the nineteenth century.

83 See fn. 43 above.

84 Cf. Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 272–76.

85 Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 276.

86 In K Vyšens'kyj's writings (fols. 224^r–261^v) are presented as chapters 45–48 of Kopystens'kyj's treatise. A similar division of the textual material into "chapters" seems to apply to K^1; see Gojgel-Sokol, "Neizvestnyj russkij spisok proizvedenij I. Višenskogo."

(3) One manuscript (U) which contains not only the three "epistles" found in the above manuscripts as well as textual material from chapters 1–5 of the *Knyžka*, but also three additional "works" by Vyšens'kyj found nowhere else—namely, the *Terse Reply to Piotr Skarga*, the *Quarrel of a Wise Latin with a Foolish Rusyn*, and the *Spiritual Spectacle*.[87]

(4) One manuscript (M) offering textual material from chapters 2, 3, and 5 of the *Knyžka* and betraying a totally unique compositional scheme.

Hence, with the exception of U and M, all extant Old Believer witnesses appear to present textual material connected with the *Knyžka* that does not go beyond the compositional limits of chapters 2 and 3. It should be noted, however, that the eight Old Believer copies in question seem to preserve only a small portion of textual material from chapter 3 (as it is presented in L, T, and U).[88] According to Eremin, moreover, in these testimonies, which "correspond word for word in their make-up," Vyšens'kyj's works "are suddenly broken off in the third chapter of the *Knyžka* which, for some reason, is unfinished and comes abruptly to an end with the words, ... *da izbežiši gněva i suda božija za tvoe toe ruganie i smějanie* ["... so that you might evade the anger and judgment of God for that reviling and mocking of yours"]."[89]

VI

Let us now attempt to determine the organizing principles governing the textual material from chapters 2 and 3 of the *Knyžka* that has been preserved in all extant Old Believer copies but U and M. The test case for our analysis will be the nineteenth-century Titov copy (T^1), which is currently found in the Titov Collection of the Saltykov-Ščedrin Public Library in St. Petersburg.[90]

Like many other Old Believer manuscripts containing Vyšens'kyj's writings,[91] T^1 opens with Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's *On the True Unity of the*

87 See Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 274–76. Cf. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, 5:431–32.

88 See Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 276.

89 Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 276. As noted above (fn. 26), Eremin's conclusions were based only on a comparison of two of these testimonies (i.e., T^1 and S).

90 I wish to thank the archivists of the Manuscript Division of the Saltykov-Ščedrin Public Library for allowing me to examine the Titov copy.

91 It would be a serious mistake, however, to assume that the organizing principle for T^1 is identical with that of other Old Believer copies. As shall be shown below, if one compares T^1 with such witnesses as the nineteenth-century Kiev copy (K), one can detect important compositional differences; see fn. 116 below. I wish to express my gratitude to my colleagues at the Ševčenko Institute of Literature, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, for permitting me to examine this manuscript.

Rightly Believing Christians of the Eastern Church (fols. 1^r-108^v).[92] Kopystens'kyj's treatise is separated from Vyšens'kyj's writings (fols. 109^r-129^v) by a heading, in cinnabar, which identifies the "most venerable and blessed Ioann Vyšens'kyj" as the author of a work addressed to the Lviv Confraternity (fol. 109^r).[93] Indeed, after the heading, which one finds in other Old Believer copies as well,[94] one finds the *Epistle to the Lviv Confraternity* (fols. 109^r-110^v), followed by the *Epistle to Sister Domnikija* (fols. 110^v-119^r), and the *Epistle to Iov Knjahynyc'kyj* (fols. 119^r-120^r). It is uncertain, however, whether the heading is intended for all three textual units or merely for the *Epistle to the Lviv Confraternity*.[95] In fact, the "titles" to the *Epistle to Sister Domnikija* and the *Epistle to Iov Knjahynyc'kyj* are not written in cinnabar, and there does not appear to be any clear division between the three textual entities.

What should be remembered here is that the textual documentation of these three "works" has come down to us only in very late (i.e., nineteenth-century) Old Believer witnesses. In addition, my admittedly partial list of *variae lectiones*[96] suggests evidence of routine scribal activity rather than redactional intervention and indicates that one is dealing with a compact textual tradition. Thus, insofar as these three "epistles" are concerned,[97] one is confronted with an exclusively Old Believer textual tradition that might lead us back to an "original common phase" but not necessarily to the alleged "original texts" compiled in the early years of the seventeenth century. As in the case of other monuments of the Orthodox Slavic manuscript culture, we cannot be entirely certain that all of the textual material belonging to an "original text" has been preserved in a later and quite different context.[98]

Certainly, the situation is quite different for the textual material connected with chapters 2 and 3 of the *Knyžka*, inasmuch as T^1 and other Old Believer copies can be compared with earlier (i.e., seventeenth- and

92 On Kopystens'kyj's tract, see fn. 41 above. See also Niess, *Kirche in Russland*, pp. 29ff.

93 *Prepodobnago i blažennago otca Ioanna Vyšenskago bratstvom pitan [pisan?] do Lvova bratstvu radi věry i povsjudu.*

94 The heading is also found in U and S, as well as K; see Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 290.

95 One should note, in this regard, that in K the three textual units (fols. 224^r-248^r) are considered a single portion of Kopystens'kyj's treatise (i.e., chapter 45). A similar principle of segmentation appears to characterize K^1; see Gojgel-Sokol, "Neizvestnyj russkij spisok proizvedenij I. Višenskogo."

96 My partial list of textual variants is based on T^1, S, E, P, R, and K.

97 For the place of these "epistles" (i.e., texts not included in the *Knyžka* and not addressed to Piotr Skarga) in Vyšens'kyj's oeuvre, see fn. 44 above.

98 On this problem, see once again Picchio, "Slavia ortodossa e Slavia romana," pp. 43–54; Goldblatt, "On 'rus'kymi pismeny,'" pp. 314–20. Cf. R. Picchio, "Chapter 13 of *Vita Constantini*: Its Text and Contextual Function," *Slavica Hierosolymitana* 7 (1985): 133–52.

eighteenth-century) witnesses. At the same time, it is important to bear in mind what has already been said about the grouping of Old Believer manuscripts on the basis of their contents and organizing principle. On the one hand, U not only presents the same "complete" version of chapters 2 and 3 found in L and T but offers these texts with certain other "chapters" of the *Knyžka*;[99] on the other hand, T^1 and all other Old Believer copies but M contain an "incomplete" version of chapters 2 and 3 and present no other textual material from the *Knyžka*.

Thus, in T^1 the remaining textual material from Vyšens'kyj's writings consists of material found in chapters 2 and 3 of the *Knyžka* (fols. 120^r-129^v). It is noteworthy that the copyist of T^1 clearly wished to stress the functional autonomy of this textual material in relation to the textual portion preceding it. Here—as in the case of the heading located prior to the *Epistle to the Lviv Confraternity*[100]—one finds a long title, written entirely in cinnabar, which is similar in wording to what is found in L and T:

Blagočestivomu gosudarju Vasiliju knjažati Ostrožkomu i vsěm pravoslavnym xristianom Maloj Rossii, tak duxovnym, jako světskim, ot vyššago stanu i do konečnago blagodat', milost', mir i radost' Duxa Svjatago vo serdca vaša [s"]vyše nizposlatisja vam ot treipostnago Božestva Otca i Syna i Svjatago Duxa Ioann mnix z Višn ot svjatyja afonskyja gory userdno želaet.[101]

(To the pious sovereign Vasyl', prince of Ostroh, and to the Orthodox Christians of Little Rus', both the clergy and the laity, from the highest to the lowest rank. May there be sent from above upon you the grace, mercy, and joy of the Holy Spirit into

99 It is, perhaps, an overstatement to maintain that in U chapters 2 and 3 are presented as "component parts of the *Knyžka*." By themselves, the contents of U—which lacks the title, introduction, and table of contents, as well as the final portion of chapter 5 and chapters 6–10—hardly suggest the existence of a larger collection which has come to be called the *Knyžka Ioanna mnixa Višenskoho*. One should not forget, in this regard, that Hruševs'kyj saw fit to link the preface entitled "On the Manner of Reading this Work" (*O činu pročitanija seho pisanija*), which begins the textual material drawn from the *Knyžka* found in U, with an entirely different "collection"; see fn. 44 above.

100 See fn. 93 above.

101 T^1 (fol. 120^r); see Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 16. Cf. the information in the table of contents for chapter 2 (preserved only in L): "Pisanie do knjazja Vasilija i vsîx pravoslavnyx xristijan, oznajmujuči, jak v"stočnoe vîry vîrnii na opocî ili na kameni vîry Petrovy nepodvižno i neprelestno stojat, i vrata adova ix odolîti nikakože ne mogut, pročii ž vsi otpali v prelest, zabludili i v ad adovymi vraty zatvoreni sut; v nem že i pohreb nevîriju papy rymskaho i emu poslîdujuščix" ("An epistle to Prince Vasyl' and all Orthodox Christians, indicating that the faithful of the Eastern faith stand unshaken and without deceit upon the rock of St. Peter's faith; and that the gates of Hell can in no way vanquish them, while all others have fallen into deceit, have lost their way, and have been confined in Hell by the gates of Hell. And in the epistle there is also the burial of the Roman pope's unbelief and of those who follow him" [Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 8]).

your hearts, from the three hypostases of the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Ivan the Monk from Vyšnja on the Holy Mountain ardently wishes this.)

One should note, however, that, in contrast with L and T, there is no reference to the subsequent text as a part or "chapter" of some larger collection.[102]

A striking difference between T^1 and the earlier textual witnesses resides in the complete absence of a break between the textual material of chapters 2 and 3. In L,[103] as well as in T,[104] the textual boundary that marks the end of chapters 2 and beginning of chapter 3 is clearly marked, not only graphically but also conceptually. Chapter 2 (as it has come down to us in L and T) concludes, as follows:

Est u nas nepobîdimaja sila, neprestupnoe Božestvo, svjataja edinosuščnaja i nerazdîlimaja Trojca, Otec i Syn i Svjatyj Dux, Boh v trex ipostasex, ot nas vîruemyj, slavimyj i poklanjaemyj nami blahočestno, v neho že krestixomsja, kotoryj silen est nas ot plînenija latinskoho isxititi i ot prelesti antixristovy vîry osvoboditi, —tomu slava vo vîki vîkom amin, emu že i vas vručaju.[105]

(There is among us an unconquerable strength, the inviolate Godhead, the holy and life-affirming Trinity, one in ousia and indivisible, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, God in three hypostases, in whom we believe, whom we celebrate and worship piously, and in whom we were baptized, who has the power to tear us away even from the Latin captivity and liberate us from the deception of the faith which is the Antichrist. To Him glory forever, amen. And it is to Him that I entrust you.)

Immediately thereafter, one finds the initial words of chapter 3, which in L are presented entirely in cinnabar:[106]

Budi ž vam izvîstno, pravovîrnym, jak seho radi popuščeni esmo v sej iskus, zane ž poeretičixomsja vse obitalici Maloe Rusii i ot Boha ustranixomsja daleče. K nevîriju i zložitie priprjagše. Tîmže vozvratîmsja k Bohu paki, da Boh k nam sja priblížit: on bo est vsěhdy bliz, hrîxi ž naša daleče nas otlučajut ot neho. Seho radi pokajmosja sami v svoix s''hrîšeniix, koždo sud sobî s'tvorše. Posem i blahočestie pravovîrija

102 Both L and T refer to the "epistle" addressed to "the pious sovereign Vasyl'" as "chapter 2": see L (fol. 212r); T (fol. 9r).

103 As Eremin notes, in L the initial words to the chapter (fols. 229r–230v), which function as a title, are written in cinnabar (*Ivan Višenskij*, p. 298). There is, moreover, a reference in the margin to "chapter 3."

104 Notwithstanding the observations of Kostomarov ("Četyre sočinenija," p. 209) and Kryms'kyj ("Ioann Vyšenskij," pp. 441–42, 448), in T there is a clear indication, immediately after the initial words of text which serve as a title, that what follows should be considered "chapter 3" (fol. 17v); cf. Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 297–98. See fn. 63 above.

105 Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 22–23.

106 In T only the first two lines are in cinnabar (fol. 17v).

cerkvi našee tako ispraviti sovît vam, istinen i neblaznen, daju.[107]

(And let it be known to you, O Orthodox, that because of this we have been led into temptation, inasmuch as all the inhabitants of Little Rus' have committed heresy and removed themselves further from God, having combined evil life as well to unbelief. Therefore let us return again to God, so that God might draw near to us. For He is always close, but our sins separate us further from him. For this reason, let us repent for our sins, each having made a judgment for himself. Whereupon I thus give you advice, true and firm, on how to restore the piety of Orthodoxy in our Church.)

In T^1, however, one can detect an important textual addition at the end of the textual material from chapter 2.[108] This textual alteration, which betrays grammatical and syntactical markers linking this "ending" with the following paragraph, serves to break down any division between the two textual units identified in L and T as chapters 2 and 3. Indeed, in T^1 the initial words of "chapter 3" are presented merely as a new paragraph, with no attempt at indicating a heading through graphic division and with only the first letter of the first word written in cinnabar:

Boh v trex ipostasex,...	God in three hypostases,...
v *neho* že krestixomsja,...	and *in Whom* we were baptized,...
tomu slava vo věki věkom amin,	*To Him* glory forever, amen.
emu že i vas vručaju,	And it is *to Him* that I entrust you,
budi že nam polučiti.[109]	and let it be *for us* to receive.
Budi ž vam izvěstno...[110]	And let it be known *to you*...

As noted above, another crucial distinction between, on the one hand, L, T, and U and, on the other hand, T^1 (as well as other Old Believer manuscripts) consists in the fact that the latter offers an "abbreviated version" of chapter 3. However, notwithstanding Eremin's contention that in T^1 chapter 3 is "suddenly broken off" and "for some reason unfinished,"[111] it is clear that the textual material in T^1 ends at a logical and structurally well-marked position in the chapter—namely, at the juncture between the condemnation of false pastors (and praise of true monks)[112] that follows the

107 Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 22.

108 This addition seems to be preserved in all extant Old Believer manuscripts, including U.

109 For a similar phrasing, see the "introduction" to the *Knyžka* (preserved only in L): "...jako [Boh] prizrit na nas paki miloserdnym okom...i vsîx, v nem blahočestno živuščix, spaset, i carstva nebesnaho naslîdnikami byti spodobit, *eže nam vsîm polučiti*, gospodi, dažd" ("...so that God will look upon us once again with a merciful eye...and vouchsafe them to be heirs to the kingdom of Heaven, which, the Lord willing, is for all of us to receive" [Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 7]).

110 T^1 (fol. 126^r).

111 Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 276

112 On the centrality of the theme of impious priests in Vyšens'kyj's writings, see H. Goldblatt, "Ivan Vyšens'kyj's Conception of St. John Chrysostom and his Idea of Reform for the Ruthenian Lands," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (forthcoming).

"apology for the Slavic language" and the extensive "apology for the monastic life" (*Načalo ž ottolja činju*)—and may have been altered in accordance with an innovative ideological scheme that also united textual material from chapters 2 and 3. It is noteworthy, in this regard, that the textual material from chapter 3 preserved in T^1 (and other Old Believer witnesses) actually corresponds to the single motive of "advice, true and firm, on how to restore the piety of Orthodoxy in our Church"[113] alluded to in the initial paragraph of text,[114] whereas the version of chapter 3 extant in L, T, and U is organized on the basis of the two motives referred to in the information provided by the table of contents for the *Knyžka*—viz., not only "advice on how to cleanse Christ's Church" but also "the mystery of the monastic office."[115] Thus, there is no question that T^1 presents textual material from chapters 2 and 3 as a single entity and—as shall be shown below—in accordance with a deliberately motivated conceptual design which saw fit to delete the "apology for the monastic life."[116]

VII

The textual material from chapters 2 and 3 that constitutes a single textual entity in T^1 can be segmented into twelve parts according to the following distribution of themes:

(1) One must defend the faith against the net of the Roman Church, which does not catch the true faithful but seduces us and separates us from eternal life.

(2) We have found the deep pit, in which the proud voice rules, where it is said that Rus' cannot be separated from papal unbelief.

113 I.e., "Posem i blahočestie pravovîrija cerkvi našee tako ispraviti sovît vam, istinen i neblaznen, daju" (Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 22).

114 T^1 (fol. 125^r). Cf. L (fol. 229^r); T (fol. 17^v); U (fol. 384^v).

115 I.e, "Porada, kako da sja očistit cerkov xristova... i čto est tajnstvo inočeskaho obraza. . . . " (Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 8). See fn. 68 above.

116 It is noteworthy that the textual material from chapters 2 and 3 preserved in K (fols. 248^r-261^v) betrays an organizing principle different not only from that of L, T, and U, but also that of T^1. Thus, unlike T^1, this textual portion of K is presented as several "chapters." On the other hand, the material is not segmented on the basis of the junctures in L, T, and U: the first section of chapter 2 is considered chapter 46 of Kopystens'kyj's treatise *Knyha o pravdivoj edinosti pravovîrnyx xristian cerkvi vostočnoj* (fols. 248^r-253^v); the final portion of textual material from chapter 2, as well as what is sometimes defined as the "heading" in chapter 3 ("Budi ž vam izvěstno... sovět vam, istinen i neblazen, daju") is given as chapter 47 (fols. 253^v-261^r); and the remaining portion of text from chapter 3, which is the actual beginning of the chapter and does not include the "apology for the monastic life," is offered as chapter 48 (fols. 261^v-267^r). This manner of segmentation appears to coincide with what is found in K^1; see Gojgel-Sokol, "Neizvestnyj russkij spisok proizvedenij I. Višenskogo," p. 76.

(3) One must reject papal unbelief and Roman pride, which proclaims that the gates of Hell have vanquished the Greek faith but have not and cannot conquer the Roman faith, and which affirms that precisely for that reason the pope is the head and the vicar of St. Peter. In fact, the gates of Hell can in no way vanquish Orthodox Christians, while all others have fallen into deceit, have lost their way, and have been confined by the gates of Hell. Thus, the Roman is wrong to speak of the bondage of the Greeks and the freedom of the Roman pope.

(4) Let us weep over the corpse of the Roman pope's unbelief and the burial of his followers, for they have perished in eternal perdition and can never return to piety and Orthodoxy. It is better to be alive through faith than to die in unbelief.

(5) It is clear that the teachings of the Roman faith are linked with the wiles of Satan. The cursed devil, the ruler of this world, has eternally imprisoned the Roman, who has fallen into temptation and been seduced by the glory of this world. The Roman has sought out honor and wealth in this world in order to rule over the debased and the poor. Thus, the Roman faith rules over sin in this world and the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.

(6) It is only the Eastern Church which stands unshaken and without deceit upon the rock of St. Peter's faith. Our Orthodoxy is the one true faith which the gates of Hell cannot vanquish, the brightness of this world cannot seduce, and the terror of suffering cannot frighten.

(7) Thus, do not fear the message of the Roman pope, for the crowns of the Kingdom of Heaven have been made ready for the struggle of our faith in the world and the cleansing of the Church from the actions of the servant of the Antichrist, the Roman pope, and his followers. For the Latins will be with the devil in fiery Gehenna, whereas Rus' will be freed from Latin captivity and delivered from the deception of faith of the Antichrist by the unconquerable force of our God.

(8) However, all the inhabitants of Rus' have been led into temptation, committed heresy, and removed themselves from God. Therefore, let us repent for our sins and return to God.

(9) The piety of Orthodoxy, which has been disgraced by false pastors and their unclean life, can be restored by cleansing the Church of deceptions and heretical superstitions. In praising God, do everything according to the traditions of the Church and Christian law without adding anything from one's own imagination. For what the Holy Spirit has established must be distinguished from imperfect earthly designs.

(10) Christian devotion cannot be separated from Christian worship. Thus, the piety of Orthodoxy can also be renewed by rejecting liturgical innovation and restoring the use of the sacred Slavic language in the liturgy and in the printing of church books. At the same time, it is one's apostolic duty to make use of the vulgar tongue for the purposes of explication and interpretation.

(11) The sanctity of the Slavic language must be defended against the assaults of the devil, for it is not only the means by which one can celebrate God but the singular instrument of salvation for a Rus' on the verge of destruction. Even languages consecrated by tradition and which claim to be sacred, such as Latin and Greek, are not pleasing to God, for they are replete with pagan stratagems and other vainglorious cunning devices belonging to the devil. Indeed, the evil one is waging a ferocious battle with the Slavic tongue precisely because—unlike Latin and Greek—it is unique in its innocence and devoid of the sphere of craftiness bound up with the activities of the evil one. The only defense against the spiritual hosts of wickedness, intent on destroying the sacred spiritual heritage of Rus', is the simplicity of the Slavic language, which is "beloved of God."

(12) It is better for Rus' to be without clerics installed by the devil because of earthly ambitions than to be with them, for those not purified and consecrated by the faith are incapable of being true pastors and trample the faith. Only those true monks and seekers after God can defend piety and ensure the salvation of Rus'.

Thus, in this single textual unit drawn from Vyšens'kyj's writings, the readers of T^1 could discover two separate but indissolubly linked subjects. On the one hand, they were told that acceptance of the Roman faith and its vicar inevitably led to eternal perdition; that the teachings of the Roman Church and its head were inextricably bound up with the devil; and that the servant of the Antichrist was the Roman pope. On the other hand, they were informed that Orthodoxy was the true faith which the gates of Hell could not vanquish; that, although Rus' had fallen into temptation, the piety of its faith could be restored by cleansing the Church of diabolical deception; that the tradition of the Church and Christian worship could not altered; that only the Slavic language could serve as an instrument of salvation in the struggle against the devil; and that it was better to be without priests than to have the true faith disgraced by false pastors.

VIII

If the textual material in T^1 drawn from chapters 2 and 3 of the *Knyžka* should be considered a single compositional unit, there remains the question

of how this unit was interpreted by readers in the Old Believer communities. There is no question that the motifs contained in a text written by the "most venerable and blessed Ioann Vyšens'kyj" could easily be inserted into a complex of ideas commonly associated with Old Believer thought. Most important, in this regard, was the *eschatological* context in which Vyšens'kyj's text was placed by Old Believer copyists who were obliged to elucidate all writings in accordance with the historical crisis and trauma of the Russian Church and state. For the Old Believers, moreover, who insisted on the real presence of the organized forces of the malevolent spirit in Russia, Vyšens'kyj's text provided them with an ideal *apocalyptic* vision which not only depicted a persecuted group in a wicked world on the verge of destruction but also offered the clear-cut differentiation of two aeons, the present one and the one to come.[117] Convinced that the present age was hopelessly perverted by the "god of this world" and that they were living in the last times, the Old Believers were convinced that they were participants in the age of the coming of the Antichrist, seen not as a false prophet but as the visible head of the Church.

It is important to recall that, as was noted above, Vyšens'kyj's oeuvre was but one component element in a corpus of Ruthenian writings which enjoyed enormous popularity among the Old Believers.[118] These writings were read and copied in the Old Believer communities primarily because their denunciation of the institutions of the Roman Church and its culture was intimately linked with an apocalyptic vision and a belief in the coming of the Antichrist. Of particular influence on the Old Believers, in this regard, were two collections, both published in Moscow in the 1640s,

[117] On the centrality of the doctrine of the two aeons in apocalyptic thinking, see W. Schmitals, *The Apocalyptic Movement: Introduction and Interpretation* (Nashville, 1975), esp. pp. 31–49; G. von Rad, *Theologie des alten Testament*, 4th ed. (Munich, 1965); K. Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*, Studies in Biblical Theology, 2nd ser., no. 22 (Naperville, 1970). It is important to recall here that throughout the history of the Church in general, and among the Old Believers in particular, the apocalyptic vision reflected in the idea of a supranatural order was frequently united with an eschatological dualism in which the devil, and his kingdom, came to be perceived as a rival to the divine sovereignty. One should note, in this regard, that many scholars have sought to see in Vyšens'kyj's writings a "dualistic world view"; see, most recently, Grabowicz, "The Question of Authority in Ivan Vyšens'kyj," pp. 783–85.

[118] See Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 293–94; Robinson, *Bor'ba idej*, pp. 312–19; 336–41; Niess, *Kirche in Russland*, pp. 26ff.; H. Rothe, "Zur Kiever Literatur in Moskau I," in *Studien zu Literatur und Kultur in Osteuropa. Bonner Beiträge zum 9. Internationalen Slawistenkongress in Kiew*, ed. H.-B. Harder and H. Rothe (Cologne and Vienna, 1983), pp. 233–60; idem, "Zur Kiever Literatur in Moskau II," in *Slavistiche Studien zum IX. Internationalen Slavistenkongress in Kiev 1983*, ed. R. Olesch (Cologne and Vienna, 1983), pp. 417–34; N. S. Gur'janova, *Krest'janskij Antimonarxičeskij protest v staroobrjadčeskoj literature perioda pozdnego feodalizma* (Novosibirsk, 1988), pp. 17–21; C. G. De Michelis, *I nomi dell'avversario. Il "papa-anticristo" nella cultura russa* (Rome, 1989), esp. pp. 33–51.

consisting largely of Ruthenian writings which had originally appeared as a consequence of the Union of Brest at the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth century: the so-called *Book of Cyril*, which appeared in 1644 and was reprinted several times by the Old Believers in the eighteenth century,[119] and Pseudo-Nathaniel's so-called *Book on the Faith*,[120] which was first printed in 1648.[121] Thus, in the *Book of Cyril*, the ideologues of Old Believer thought could make successful use of Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catechetical Lectures*[122]—specifically the fifteenth instruction that contains a full account of the activities of the Antichrist[123]—as well as a work "On the Defection of Rome from the Orthodox Faith and Holy Church,"[124] where it was noted that "the last times had come, and the

119 On the collection called the *Kirillova kniga*, see A. I. Lilov, *O tak nazyvaemoj "Kirillovoj knige": Bibliografičeskoe izloženie v otnošenii k glagolemomu staroobrjadčestvu* (Kazan', 1858); Niess, *Kirche in Russland*, esp. pp. 9–42; Rothe, "Zur Kiever Literatur in Moskau I," pp. 241–60; De Michelis, *I nomi dell'avversario*, pp. 38–39. As stated above, the "abbreviated version" of chapter 5 of Vyšens'kyj's *Knyžka*, which was first printed in 1598, was republished in the *Kirillova kniga*; see fn. 18 above.

120 On the traditional attribution of the work to a certain "Hegumen Nathaniel of Kiev," see Niess, *Kirche und Russland*, pp. 54–55; Rothe, Zur Kiever Literatur in Moskau II," pp. 421–22.

121 For a discussion of the collection generally known as Pseudo-Nathaniel's *Kniga o věrě* (or, more precisely, the *Knižica ili spisanie o věrě pravoslavnoj, o svjatoj cerkvi Vostočnoj, o izrjadnějšix pravověrnyx artykulax, ot Božestvennago pisanija, putnago radi slučaja, v gonenii ot nuždy sobrana*), see G. Dement'ev, *Kritičeskij razbor tak nazyvaemoj "Knigi o vere" sravnitel'no s učeniem glagolemyx staroobrjadcev* (St. Petersburg, 1883); A. Mychalskyj, *"Liber de fide" Pseudo-Nathanaelis. Fontes et analysis* (=Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 1, no. 21) (Rome, 1967); Niess, *Kirche in Russland*, esp. 43–69; Rothe, "Zur Kiever Literatur in Moskau II"; De Michelis, *I nomi dell'avversario*, pp. 38–42.

122 On the connection between the title of the collection (*[Sbornik nazyvaemyj] Kirillova kniga*) and the section called the "book (or "tale") of our holy father Cyril, Archbishop (or "Patriarch") of Jerusalem," see Niess, *Kirche in Russland*, pp. 9–10, 12–17.

123 In 1596, Stefan Zyzanij had published a volume which included a translation and commentary of Cyril of Jerusalem's "sermon" on the Antichrist and commentaries (S. Zyzanij, *Kazan'e svjatoho Kirilla patriar'xa ierusalim'skoho o antixristě i znakox eho z rozšireniem nauki protiv eresej roznyx...* [Vilnius, 1596]). In a section of the *Kirillova kniga*, entitled "Skazanie Kirilla Ierusalimskago o vos'mom veke, strašnom sudě i antixristě" (B fols. 1^r–82^r [Demin, *Pisatel' i obščestvo*, p. 303]), thirty-three sections of Cyril of Jerusalem's fifteenth "Catechism" and Zyzanij's commentary are presented in the form of nine "chapters"; see Niess, *Kirche in Russland*, pp. 18–21. (For the Greek text of Cyril of Jerusalem's "Catechism," see *MPG* 33:870–915.) On Zyzanij's work and its diffusion, as well as the possible influence of the Dutch Calvinist Sibrandus Lubbertus's *De Papa Romano libri decem* (Groningen, 1594)—in which the pope is identified with the Antichrist—or other Protestant tracts, see P. K. Jaremenko, "Stefan Zyzanij—ukrajins'kyj pys'mennyk-polemist kincja XVI st.," *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo* 2 (1958): 39–54; Niess, *Kirche in Russland*, pp. 26–29, 162–73.

124 "O rimskom otpadenii, kako otstupiša ot pravoslavnyje věry i ot svjatyja cerkvi" (B fols. 226^r–232^v [Demin, *Pisatel' i obščestvo*, p. 303]). Cf. Niess, *Kirche und Russland*, p. 23.

Antichrist in the image of the Roman pope, uniting in his person secular and spiritual power, is already ruling in the world."[125]

In the *Book on the Faith* the idea of "three defections" from the true faith further developed the notion that the spread of Catholicism would lead to the coming of the Antichrist in 1666.[126] It was computed that Rome and all Western countries had fallen away from Orthodoxy one thousand years after the birth of Christ; it had then taken five hundred and ninty-five more years for "Little Rus'" to ally itself with the Roman Church; and finally, when 1666 would occur, "Great Rus'" would suffer because of past sins.[127] The Old Believers could thereby link the "final defection" with the Moscow church council which condemned the schism and approved the Nikonian reforms. On the one hand, as N. S. Gur'janova has pointed out, "this imparted particular authority to the prediction in the *Book on the Faith*. On the other hand, it permitted the Old Believers to speak of the uniqueness of what happened at the church council of 1666–1667, as if it marked the beginning of the coming of the Antichrist."[128] In this way, the Old Believers reworked and reinterpreted Philotheus's theory of "Moscow the Third Rome"—"Two Romes have fallen, a third stands, a fourth there shall not be"[129]—to underscore the fact that "the Holy Kingdom had become the tsardom of the Antichrist."[130]

Within the apocalyptic context of Old Believer thought, for which "history was at an end" and "sacred history had ceased to be sacred,"[131] the textual unit in T^1 that combined material from chapters 2 and 3 of the *Knyžka* not only described the historical events connected with the "second falling away" from the true faith in Little Rus' at the end of the sixteenth century but referred *directly* to the future of the "new Rome" ruled from Moscow, in Russia, which was now in the hands of the Antichrist. In this regard, it is noteworthy that the brief description of T^1 provided by Kalajdovič and

125 Cited after Gur'janova, *Krest'janskij antimonarxičeskij protest*, p. 19.

126 See "chapter" 30 of the *Kniga o věrě*, entitled "Ob antixristě, koncě světa i strašnom sudě (fols. 267ᵛ–283ʳ [Niess, *Kirche in Russland*, p. 63]).

127 See Gur'janova, *Krest'janskij antimonarxičeskij protest*, p. 19. Cf. Niess, *Kirche in Russland*, pp. 168–69; De Michelis, *I nomi dell'avversario*, pp. 40–41.

128 De Michelis, *I nomi dell'avversario*, pp. 40–41.

129 De Michelis, *I nomi dell'avversario*, p. 41. It is noteworthy that, from the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the epistles written by Philotheus of the Eleazer Monastery in Pskov were transmitted primarily among the Old Believers; see A. L. Gol'dberg and R. P. Dmitrieva, "Filofej," in *Slovar' knižnikov Drevnej Rusi*, vol. 2, *Vtoraja polovina XIV–XVI v.*, ed. D. S. Lixačev (Leningrad, 1989), p. 473.

130 G. Florovsky, *Ways of Russian Theology* (Belmont, Mass., 1979), vol. 1, p. 99.

131 Florovsky, *Ways of Russian Theology*, 1:99.

Stroev attributes the "collection" to the "sects of fugitives" (*beguny*).[132] The sect of "fugitives" or "wanderers" (*stranniki*)[133]—which arose in the last decades of the eighteenth century from the "followers of Fillipov" (*fillipovcy*) and belonged to the "priestless" (*bezpopovcy*)—insisted that, because the Antichrist now ruled the world, the faithful had no other course but to flee into the "desert" or "wilderness" away from the corrupt and perishing "new Babylon" of the Russian Church and state. According to Euthymius, the founder of this radical sect, the only road to salvation was escape from the reign of the Antichrist, and this singular path involved flight from not only all manifestations of state and church power but also home and family.[134] However, whereas other priestless sects spoke of a "spiritual" Antichrist who ruled invisibly, the followers of Euthymius insisted that the Antichrist was visibly manifest in the institutions of Church and state which exercised his power. More specifically, they explicitly proclaimed that Peter I (as well as each of his successors) was not a symbolic but the real Antichrist.[135]

Perhaps the most compelling piece of evidence to prove the point made by "fugitive" writers and scribes was Peter's willingness to accept the new title "emperor," which was indissolubly bound up with the Roman kingdom of the Antichrist.[136] In the opinion of one such "fugitive" writing compiled at the end of the eighteenth century or beginning of the nineteenth century, Peter had rejected the title of "tsar," and destroyed the patriarchate,[137] so that he could exercise both secular and spiritual power. Furthermore, the "fugitives" not only compared Peter with the Roman pope but even

132 No. 1333. "Cvetnik (Sekty begunov). Skoropis' XIX veka, v četverku, na 302 listax" (Kalajdovič and Stroev, *Obstojatel'noe opisanie*, p. 88).

133 On this sect, see G. Strel'bickij, *Istorija russkogo raskola, izvestnogo pod imenem staroobrjadčestva*, 3rd ed. (Odessa, 1898), pp. 119–24; A. P. Ščapov, *Sočinenija* (St. Petersburg, 1906), vol. 1, pp. 505–79. Cf. A. Moskalenko, *Ideologija i dejatel'nost' xristianskix sekt* (Novosibirsk, 1978); Gur'janova, *Krest'janskij antimonarxičeskij protest*, pp. 89–112; De Michelis, *I nomi dell'avversario*, pp. 43–46.

134 See Ščapov, *Sočinenija*, 1:543–44.

135 On the possible dependence of Euthymius's thought on Pseudo-Nathaniel's *Kniga o věrě*, see De Michelis, *I nomi dell'avversario*, pp. 43–44.

136 As early as 1784, Euthymius had noted that "since Peter did not accept for himself the name of tsar, he wanted be called emperor in the Roman way" ("Ponež Peter ne oprijat na sja carskago imeni; vosxote po rimske imenovatisja imperator" [cited after Gur'janova, *Krest'janskij antimonarxičeskij protest*, p. 39]).

137 As one Old Believer writer noted, "... this beast called himself father of the fatherland and head of the Russian Church... [and] destroyed the patriarchal authority so that he alone could rule and not have anyone equal to him" ("... sej zver', imenova sebja Otec Otečestva i glava cerkvi Rossijskija... uničtoži patriaršee dostoinstvo, daby emu edinomu vlastvovati, ne imeja nikogo ravnym sebe" [cited after Gur'janova, *Krest'janskij antimonarxičeskij protest*, p. 41]).

suggested that the "present beast of the Third Rome" far surpassed the head of the Roman Church in impiety.[138] As Gur'janova cogently has noted, the ideologues of "fugitive" thought could only conclude from this that the head of the Roman Church had been only the precursor of the Antichrist and that the imperial leader of the "Third Rome" was the "last Antichrist."[139]

Thus, the textual material in T^1 common to portions of chapters 2 and 3 of the *Knyžka* could be seen as a single compositional unit with a clear and deliberate organizing principle and well-marked structural contours. The Old Believer readers could find in this text both a denunciation of the great evil in the world around them and instructions on how to return to the old faith. First, the readers of T^1 were presented in this textual entity with an apocalyptic vision that offered a frontal assault not only on the Roman faith and its pope but also—and even more significant—on the "captive" Russian Orthodox Church, with the Antichrist emperor at its head, heralding the last stage of human history. Second, they could identify the "true Orthodox faith," which was the object of persecution but could not be vanquished by the gates of Hell, with the faith of the Old Believers. Third, it was indicated that those who did not reject the impiety of "Rome" and its leader, ever linked with the devil, would perish in eternal perdition and that only flight from the Antichrist and the rank and wealth of this world would lead to salvation. Fourth, the readers were told that the Church could only be cleansed by rejecting ritual and liturgical innovation and in accordance with the immutable traditions of the Church. Fifth, it was stressed that only their "simple" Slavic language, which had rejected the stratagems characteristic of Latin and Greek, could act as an effective weapon in defense of the faith.[140] Sixth, in the final portion of the text—that is, the textual material that immediately follows the "apology for the Slavic language"—it was implied that ritual and liturgical purity did not depend on a hierarchical Church, if that ecclesiastical institution was not consecrated by the Holy Spirit and its pastors not in a state of grace. Now that the priesthood had ended with the coming of the Antichrist, only the "true monks"—in this case, members of the communities and hermitages of the Old Believers—

138 "Nynešnij zver' tret'ego sego Rima ne točiju podoben est' vo vsem Rimskomu pape, no i nasrevneno bolee prevosxodit ego svoim nečestiem" (cited after Gur'janova, *Krest'janskij antimonarxičeskij protest*, p. 40).

139 Gur'janova, *Krest'janskij antimonarxičeskij protest*, pp. 40–41. See Moskalenko, *Ideologija i dejatel'nost' xristianskix sekt*, p. 107.

140 On the importance of this theme in the *Kniga o věrě*, as well as among Old Believer ideologues, see Robinson, *Bor'ba idej*, pp. 336–41; Rothe, "Zur Kiever Literatur in Moskau II," pp. 426–28.

could represent the Orthodox Church in the final days by separating themselves from a Church in servitude and a world of appalling wickedness.[141] At the same time, it is logical to assume that the extensive "apology for the monastic life," which plays such a central role in the meaning and composition of chapter 3 of the *Knyžka*, was consciously excluded by a "scribe" who regarded this textual unit as a prolonged examination of suspect monastic vestments and rituals[142] hardly relevant to the "final monastery"[143] of the Old Believers who had found refuge in their communal life beyond the ecclesiastical structures of the Russian state Church in order to defend the old faith.

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[141] It is important to remember that the need to retire into the the solitude of the "wilderness," or to "go to the mountains," is a fundamental theme in Vyšens'kyj's writings. This is the principal theme of his last work, the *Pozorišče myslennoe* (compiled about 1615), in which the author totally rejects the notion that St. John Chrysostom might ever have forbade the monks to go into the wilderness or rebuked them for seeking to isolate themselves from the temptations of life in the world; see Goldblatt, "Ivan Vyšens'kyj's Conception of St. John Chrysostom." It is important to remember that the *Pozorišče myslennoe* is found only in one manuscript, which is of Old Believer provenance—namely, U (fols. 519^r-536^v). One is tempted to conjecture, in this regard, that the location of the text—placed immediately after an "incomplete" version of the so-called *Poslanie k utekšim ot pravoslavnoe vĭry episkopom* (i.e., the initiators of the Union of Brest), which has come down to us as chapter 5 of the *Knyžka* (fols. 439^r-518^v)—is not accidental but reflects a conscious desire to underscore the common ideological (i.e., antihierarchical and even anticlerical) thrust in the two works. Nor should one forget that in T^1 Old Believers could find the *Poslanie Staricĭ Domnikii*, where it is emphasized that the "desert" takes precedence over preaching, inasmuch as one who is unpurified and not "dispassioned" cannot help others; see Goldblatt, "Isixasts'ka ideolohija u tvorčosti Ivana Vyšens'koho."

[142] Yet, as a matter of fact, the "apology for the monastic life" is not so much an enumeration and description of monastic vestments as a comprehensive explanation of the "mysteries" of the monastic office and its crucial place in Christian society.

[143] See Florovsky, *Ways of Russian Theology*, 1: 101.

Fides Meletiana: Marcantonio de Dominis and Meletij Smotryc'kyj*

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Let me begin with the derisive doubts that could be conveyed by the term *fides meletiana*, which I introduce here to describe the set of beliefs (or lack of beliefs) held by the Ruthenian convert from Orthodoxy to the Uniate Church: "Did this man really believe anything? Could he be trusted?" These are the questions Smotryc'kyj's contemporary defenders and detractors asked—both in public and in private utterances (though with quite different purposes in the two arenas); and they are the questions his students have continued to pose to this day. The ultimate source of the confusion was his propensity to have doubts, to examine both sides of the issues with leaders of both sides, and to switch allegiances, nearly—if we are to believe the Uniate rumor campaign of 1621—in 1617, and finally in 1627–1628. These are the questions that have always been posed about a convert, especially by those who felt themselves betrayed.

Actually, it was allegiance—the flag under which one marshaled the arguments for particular articles of faith—that was of prime importance for Smotryc'kyj's contemporaries and his later students; individual points of doctrine came second. After all, Smotryc'kyj had demonstrated an ability to make articulate and effective arguments for both sides of the issues; the important thing was that he defend *your* side. Thus, Smotryc'kyj's defenders would seek in their public statements to depict him as rock-solid in his beliefs, while his detractors would show him lacking strong convictions, easily swayed by offers of greater power and wealth. In fact, most of our scanty primary sources for a biography of Meletij Smotryc'kyj, including "autobiographical" statements, stemmed from an often vicious campaign of rumor, innuendo, half-truth, and outright slander, at the heart of which was a struggle for control over the man's public persona and thereby, one hoped, over his realm of action.

This meant that on practically every issue in the Smotryc'kyj affair—from the ridiculous to the sublime—the Orthodox and the Uniates swapped sides in their public pronouncements after his conversion had become

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common knowledge. This was nowhere more clearly so than in the troubling question of faith and allegiance. The Uniate side sought to gain some control over Smotryc'kyj in the tumultuous period following his "illegal" consecration as archbishop of Polack by telling the story in 1621—in installments, and always with the threat that some further enticing morsel remained to be served to the public—of his alleged near conversion to the Uniate side just four years earlier (see *Sowita* 1621: 69–71/492–93; *Examen* 1621: 43–46/590–91[1]). The point, of course, was not so much to establish what the archbishop believed or did not believe but to encourage doubts among the sheep about the reliability of the shepherd.

And after his conversion the Orthodox side returned the favor. In this new view, the Orthodox had never really trusted him anyway, even when he was on their side (see Mužylovs'kyj 1628: 6^{v}, 11^{v}). One point of this was, I suppose, to control the damage by saying, in effect, "we knew all along." The other, more crucial purpose was to diminish Smotryc'kyj's standing with his new masters by encouraging them to suspect they may have received a sort of double agent. As a contemporary Orthodox warning to the Uniates and Catholics put it: "He is neither yours nor ours."[2]

Scholarly studies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have in many regards simply continued the public debate of the time, taking up the line of reasoning offered by each scholar's own confessional camp in the period *after* Smotryc'kyj's conversion, and accepting the scrip of rumor, innuendo, half-truth, and slander for the coin of historical fact. Thus, many historians have fallen victim to the disinformation campaign mounted centuries earlier by their ancestors on their own side of the question.

Orthodox scholars, at pains to explain the defection of their erstwhile golden boy, have fallen back on the several possibilities offered by their camp in the first few years after the conversion. All have viewed Meletij as a traitor, a Judas.[3] One scholar has found in him a lifelong, crypto-Jesuit, a man presumably enlisted as a "mole" for the other side during his years at

[1] All bibliographical references that contain two page numbers separated by a slash give locations of passages first in the original printed editions (which I have consulted in all cases) and then in the more readily available reprints or facsimile editions (both of which are identified in the list of works cited).

[2] See "Pamflet" 1875: 562: "нѣ вамъ нѣ намъ."

[3] The first use of the betrayer motif came in a contemporary parody of Slavonic liturgical texts directed against Smotryc'kyj. See "Pamflet" 1875: 566: ". . . дойде Константинополя и Иерусалима и бысть у Патриарховъ, и сбыстся съ нимъ якоже со Июдою предателем. . . ."

the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius.[4] Another has traced a gradual process of Catholicization.[5] Yet another has seen in him a man fundamentally lacking serious convictions.[6]

Uniate and Catholic opinion was shaped above all by the influential *vita* of Jakiv Suša, archbishop of Xolm, who portrayed Smotryc'kyj as a Ruthenian St. Paul, converted by the intercession of the Ruthenian protomartyr, Josafat Kuncevyč, who had been Smotryc'kyj's Uniate counterpart as archbishop of Polack. The title of Suša's work gave the whole story: *The Saul and Paul of the Ruthenian Union Transformed by the Blood of Blessed Josafat, or Meletij Smotryc'kyj* (Rome, 1666).[7]

These later scholarly studies—especially on the Uniate and Catholic side—seem unaware of the fact that during his lifetime no one trusted Smotryc'kyj, and perhaps especially not the side to which he professed his allegiance at the moment. Private Uniate and Catholic documents from the period immediately following Smotryc'kyj's conversion reflected abiding doubts—both in Rus' and in Rome—about the sincerity of the star convert.

Why was it so difficult to be certain of Smotryc'kyj's beliefs? Part of the confusion, of course, stemmed from the fact that on several articles of faith we can find statements supporting first one side and then the other. For example, the Orthodox Smotryc'kyj argued for *sola scriptura* (see Smotryc'kyj 1610 ()()() iii^{r}/11, 86^{v}/103, 167^{r}/183, 186^{v}/203, 206^{v}/207), whereas the Uniate Smotryc'kyj defended the authority of unwritten traditions in the regulation of faith and morals (see Smotryc'kyj 1628^{a} 2/524, 23/535, 118/582). The Orthodox Smotryc'kyj accepted the procession of

4 See Demjanovič 1871: 213: "There was one constant trend in his life, namely, the Latin trend. But it changed depending upon the circumstances, or to put it better, it was hidden with the purpose of 'saving the brethren' West Russians by one means or another."

5 See Elenevskij 1861: 116: "The weakness and lightness of his character, the unsteadiness of his convictions, the scholasticism—all were without a doubt the fruit of his upbringing. The Jesuits tried to pick out the more gifted of their pupils and to gain control over them. They were not able, however, to gain control over Smotryc'kyj right away."

6 See Golubev 1883: 145–46: "Meletij Smotryc'kyj was faced with the following perspective: on the one hand, his faltering power as archbishop and archimandrite, inevitable reproaches and suspicion from his flock, insufficiency of material means, and on the other hand (on the condition that he would go over to the side of the Uniates), archimandritehood of the wealthy Derman' monastery, an honorable place in the ranks of the Uniate hierarchy, etc. In order to resist the temptation before him it would have been necessary to have sufficiently firm religious convictions, to have a sincere devotion to Orthodoxy and to place its interests above one's own personal interests. The absence of these traits along with a highly developed ambition were precisely—at least in our opinion—the main reason for Meletij Smotryc'kyj's switch to the Latin Uniate camp."

7 One example from this not-too-inventive historiographic tradition (Urban 1957: 154): "What St. Paul was thanks to St. Stephen, Smotryc'kyj became thanks to Kuncevyč. St. Stephen converted St. Paul. Kuncevyč won Smotryc'kyj for Catholicism."

the Holy Spirit from the Father alone (see Smotryc'kyj 1610 $91^{v}-130^{r}$/108–46), while the Uniate Smotryc'kyj defended the acceptability of the *filioque* (see Smotryc'kyj 1628^{a} 133–46/589–96). And the examples could be multiplied, presenting a picture of a man who first believed one thing and then believed another.

Why, then, did the two sides not simply accept this as such: one set of beliefs exchanged for another? One reason was because Smotryc'kyj seems on occasion to have argued both sides of the issues at the same time. When the Uniates charged in 1621 (*Sowita* 1621:69–71/492–93) that only four years earlier Smotryc'kyj had argued in favor of the *filioque* and had requested that his theses be published in Lev Krevza's *Obrona iedności Cerkiewney* (Vilnius, 1617), the newly consecrated Orthodox archbishop of Polack was forced to admit that he regularly drew up sets of theses reflecting positions on both sides of the issues, and that if the other side wished to borrow from his feeble attempt to play devil's advocate, then it was certainly welcome to do so (Smotryc'kyj 1621 108/53). The Uniate Smotryc'kyj would return to these same sets of theses, but his implicit goal by this time was to demonstrate that on several issues he had always found the Uniates' arguments acceptable (Smotryc'kyj 1628^{a} 105/576).

A second reason was the company he kept. If there was a constant to the many public rumors about Smotryc'kyj, it was that he was always running back and forth between influential members of both sides discussing possibilities for a reunification of the Ruthenian Church and nation. As an Orthodox bishop, the fact that Smotryc'kyj had recently been talking with the Uniates was potentially dangerous to his standing with the Orthodox. As a covert Uniate, he shuttled between Josyf Ruc'kyj and Aleksander Zasławski, on the one hand, and Peter Mohyla and Iov Borec'kyj, on the other; and when the Orthodox side became suspicious, he was forced once again to portray himself as the one who was trying to lead the Uniates away from Rome and into union with "schismatic" Rus'.[8] Conversely, soon after what he portrayed (in *Protestatia*; Lviv, 1628) as having been harrowing experiences at the Kievan Council of August 1628, he still wrote to Lavrentij Drevyns'kyj, Cupbearer of Volhynia and a major secular leader on the Orthodox side, stating that mundane business would be bringing him back to Kiev in the near future.[9] Regardless of his standing on his side of the moment, or of his reputation with the opponents of the moment, Smotryc'kyj seems to have refused to treat the gulf between the Uniates and

[8] See Smotryc'kyj's letter to the Vilnius Brotherhood from the end of October or the beginning of November 1627, cited in Golubev 1883^{a}: 161–63.

[9] The letter of 28 September 1628 is printed in Golubev 1883^{b}: 317–22.

the Orthodox as something that inhibited his movement, even when this caused difficulties for him with his current masters.

The third reason many people—especially on the Catholic and Uniate side—mistrusted Smotryc'kyj's sincerity was because they had clear proof of his ability to "lie": after all, they had only recently granted him official permission to do so. The *ars dissimulandi* was a highly codified branch of knowledge in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[10] Theoreticians wrote treatises on the proper uses of its various techniques: dissimulation, simulation, mental reservation, amphibology, etc. And tracts were also written *against* this practice on all sides. In fact, one thing certain types of leaders of the several confessions could agree upon was that the faithful were not to make things easy for themselves under difficult circumstances by denying their faith, by practicing the art of dissimulation (see Zagorin 1990: 151). And, while both sides practiced dissimulation, it was especially the Jesuits—at least in anti-Jesuit propaganda—who became linked with the practice of *reservatio mentalis*. In the *Tractatus Quintus: De Juramento et Adjuratione* of his commentary on St. Thomas, the Spaniard Francisco Suarez (1548–1617) gave examples of the licit practice of mental reservation: among other things, one could swear "I did not do it," followed by an inaudible "today"; or one could say "I swear," then say inaudibly "that I am swearing," and complete the oath with an audible "I did not do it" (see Zagorin 1990: 183).

We have an interesting Polish-Lithuanian example of the proposed use of mental reservation in this period and at the highest level. In 1634, when Władysław IV was about to take the oath to uphold the freedoms and liberties he had recently promised to the "dissidents" (i.e., the Protestants and the Orthodox) at the Election Sejm, the chancellor of Lithuania, Stanisław Radziwiłł, whispered into the king's ear, urging him to employ the technique of mental reservation so that, without actually lying, he would nonetheless not be obliged to keep his promise: "let Your Royal Majesty not have that intention," he said. The king, however, refused to dissimulate: "to whomever I swear with my lips, I also swear with my intention."[11]

It should come as little surprise that an Orthodox Slav living in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the early seventeenth century was familiar with the rules for licit lying, especially—as later Orthodox detractors might have added—since he had been a student of the Jesuit Academy

10 See the recent study by Zagorin (1990) for several chapters in the history of the theory and practice of "lying" in early modern Europe.

11 Cited according to Golubev 1898: 68: Radziwiłł—"nie miey W.K.M. tey intencyi"; Władysław IV—"komu przysięgam usty, temu przysięgam y intencją."

of Vilnius. In fact, Smotryc'kyj's first letters to Rome announcing his desire to be received into the Roman Church carried the specific request to the Holy Office that he be allowed to remain for some time a covert Uniate and to practice a number of types of dissimulation in the interim, in the hope of remaining in close contact with his former co-religionists and, finally, of leading them into union with Rome. The specificity of Smotryc'kyj's requests to the Holy Office betrays a familiarity with codified techniques of lying. Especially interesting in this regard is his petition that he be allowed to continue mentioning out loud the patriarch of Constantinople when he celebrated the liturgy, but with the understanding that he would silently be praying to God for his conversion.[12] This was, of course, nothing more than a request to be allowed to employ a type of *reservatio mentalis*. Further on in his petition, Smotryc'kyj argued that he would only be behaving as the Jesuits did in India, where a certain amount of latitude had been permitted to Catholics in the pursuance of their mission.[13]

I am aware of two other instances where Smotryc'kyj's contemporaries drew an analogy between Jesuit missions in the East and the confessional situation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Apparently some Jesuits of the period felt a sort of inferiority complex if they had not been posted to India, China, Japan, or the New World. This is the sentiment to which the Polish Jesuit Piotr Skarga was likely responding when he wrote: "We do not need the East and West Indies; Lithuania and the north are a true India."[14] Conversely, the general of the order, Claudio Aquaviva, reprimanded a Jesuit who complained of the difficulties posed by the mission to Japan: after all, in the general's view, Japan could be no more exotic or pose no more problems to the European missionary than life in Poland or Hungary (cited in Schütte 1980: 288). By framing his petition in these terms, Smotryc'kyj was seeking to place himself in a recognizable territory on the mental map of the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. This

12 See the third-person summary of Smotryc'kyj's petition to the Holy Office (Velykyj 1972: 128): "Denique petit, ut in Missae sacrificio mentionem faciat patriarchae Constantinopolitani, mutata intentione, scilicet, ut eum non tanquam pastorem agnoscat, sed ut pro illius conversione Deum precetur."

13 See Velykyj 1972: 129: "Denique si aliqua ratio urgeret in Meletio apertum catholicismum haec esset, ne scandalum sit aliis ipsius schisma. Et hoc non: omnes enim sciunt, illum hucusque fuisse schismaticum, nullus (exceptis aliquot, qui ad hoc negotium spectarunt) nunc redisse ad gremium Ecclesiae. Unde ac si Patres Societatis Iesu et alii Religiosi in India cum gentilibus habitu saeculari conversantes, neminem scandalisaret, praesertim cum multo maior, Deo auxiliante, speretur fructus sanctae Unionis ex occultato ad tempus catholicismo, quam si ex nunc omnibus innotesceret."

14 Cited according to Kosman 1973: 113: "Non requiramus Indias Orientis et Occidentis; est vera India Lituania et Septentrio."

must have been acceptable to the authorities in Rome: after all, *Propaganda* had linked the infidels with the heretics and the schismatics in its charter as the peoples toward whom it wished to direct its energies (see Metzler 1971:95).

So Smotryc'kyj asked permission from one side to lie to the other side; and the way he phrased his request betrayed an intimate knowledge of the rules the new side employed in playing its game. Practically, this meant that for a period of something over a year (July 1627 to August 1628), both sides were supposed to think Smotryc'kyj belonged to them. He was overtly Orthodox; and Rome had his assurances that he was inwardly Uniate. But could he not have been dissimulating at some level when he asked for permission to dissimulate? Were there only two possibilities in Smotryc'kyj's mental and confessional world? Is it not also possible that Smotryc'kyj enjoyed the freedom this situation gave him to go back and forth for a certain period between leaders of both sides?

I will return to these particular musings later. What is important at this point is that the Catholic and Uniate side never completely trusted Smotryc'kyj. He had nearly converted, if we believe the Uniates, in 1617, only to become four years later the most vocal and articulate spokesman for the other side. No wonder, then, that another six years later, the Catholic palatine of Braclav, Aleksander Zasławski, on whose estates was the monastery at Derman', and who was instrumental in bringing Smotryc'kyj into the Roman Church, was so remarkably straightforward in his demand that the convert "put it in writing":

> Therefore, since the will of man is changeable. . . until death, I would gladly have—for the sake of the peace of my heart (not that I would distrust Your Most Reverend Domination—God forbid)—certainty in writing.[15]

The suspicions did not entirely abate with Smotryc'kyj's official petition to the Holy See. While Rome was rejoicing outwardly at the "return" of Meletij to the fold, it was still treating him with considerable caution behind the scenes. Rome—especially *Propaganda*—followed with interest the accounts of Smotryc'kyj's "re-apostasy" at the Kievan Council in 1628 and of his subsequent re-abjuration of the schism.[16] Metropolitan Ruc'kyj was instructed to communicate with Rome when he could definitely certify the

[15] Zasławski's letter of 19 February 1627 to Smotryc'kyj, cited according to Suša 1666:52: "Quoniam itaque ambulatoria est voluntas humana. . . vsque ad mortem; libens vellem, propter cordis mei pacem, (non quod diffidam Vestrae Reuerendissimae Dominationi, absit) habere certitudinem in scripto."

[16] For the correspondence between Rome and Rus' on Smotryc'kyj's lapse and eventual reaffirmation of the faith, see Velykyj 1956:223–24; Velykyj 1961:8–9; Velykyj 1953:76–77.

sincerity of Smotryc'kyj's conversion (see Velykyj 1956: 223–24). Even after this certification (which came only in the fall of 1628), Rome continued to drag its heels in finding for Meletij a suitable new title. The belated conferral of the archbishopric of Hieropolis *in partibus infidelium* may have conveyed less confidence than some of the other possibilities mentioned—the archbishopric of Galicia, for example.[17] The letters sent by Smotryc'kyj's new co-religionists to Rome in this period read somewhat like the reports of spies in the field. Rafail Korsak, bishop of Pinsk, archbishop of Galicia, and Ruc'kyj's coadjutor (who seems to have held no great love for Smotryc'kyj: it was he who would have had to relinquish claim to Galicia in favor of the convert), was among those who reported to Rome on Smotryc'kyj's activities in the context of unrelated material. For example, in a letter of 5 July 1632, Korsak offered the information that Meletij, who was "most constant in the holy union," had secluded himself at Derman' to write in support of the union.[18] What was the purpose of this statement, if not to refer to the doubts many felt about Smotryc'kyj's allegiance? Also, in a letter of 1 February 1630 to Francesco Ingoli, secretary of *Propaganda* (Velykyj 1956: 73), Korsak gave a list of Uniate leaders including the titles of their sees, among whom we find "most reverend Meletij, our neophyte" ("R.mus Meletius noster Neophitus"). Was this intended to deride Smotryc'kyj, or at least to keep him at some remove from the more "trustworthy" members of the Uniate Church?

Propaganda took due note of the information reported on Smotryc'kyj (see Velykyj 1953: 88, 125, 131). Under the guise of admiration for his works, Rome asked him for copies of his works and, more importantly, for Latin translations to be placed in Castel Sant' Angelo.[19] And Smotryc'kyj, pretending that his Latin was not up to the task, politely refused.[20] (Korsak obliged by making Latin compendia of his works and sending them off to Rome [see Velykyj 1956: 10]. Was Korsak's Latin better than Smotryc'kyj's?) But Metropolitan Ruc'kyj understood that the point here was doctrinal Orthodoxy and not Smotryc'kyj's status as a semi-Polish

17 For the correspondence between Rome and Rus' concerning the question of a new title for Smotryc'kyj, see Velykyj 1953: 482; Velykyj 1972: 128; Velykyj 1956: 195, 223–25; Velykyj 1953: 81, 85, 88; Velykyj 1956: 245–46; Velykyj 1953: 97.

18 Velykyj 1956: 90: "R.mus Meletius in Unione S. constantissimus, Monasterio suo Dermanensi sese inclusit suaeque vacans saluti, libris quibusdam pro S. Unione post typo vulgandis ordinandis insudat."

19 The request is to be found in Velykyj 1954: 101. Smotryc'kyj's response to Lodovisi is dated at Derman' 12 June 1631 (Velykyj 1972: 223).

20 Smotryc'kyj referred to his "scanty knowledge and rare use" ("exiguam cognitionem rarumque usum") of Latin (Velykyj 1972: 223). Is this likely?

Cicero: he assured Rome that the works had been read and approved by a reliable Uniate theologian.[21]

So far I have painted a picture of suspicion and deception, and I hope in a larger work to adduce enough more examples to convince everyone that in the Smotryc'kyj affair the participants did not always say exactly what they may have believed. And yet, I would like to react in this paper to the opinions of those who have repeated the familiar refrain about the convert: "he had no faith; he did it for fame and fortune." My point of departure—perhaps a leap of faith in itself, but one I hope to make convincing—is that Smotryc'kyj *had* convictions about the issues of his day and of the age to come and that, while personal and other temporal interests may not have been entirely absent, at some level he acted according to his beliefs about things beyond himself. But if this be true, how can we get at the core of the man, so often hidden beneath layers of deceit, conformity, and convention, or obscured by gaps in the stingy documentation? I would like to suggest that in this particular case, an interesting "near silence" on Smotryc'kyj's part might lead us out of the realm of *argumentum ex silentio* and to some fruitful avenues of speculation and some partial answers on what he actually believed.

I refer here to a major and—most importantly for my argument—controversial contemporary of Smotryc'kyj: Marcantonio de Dominis. Smotryc'kyj referred to him only once, but I am increasingly certain that he drew more substantial spiritual nourishment from him than this meager menu would suggest. Smotryc'kyj's penchant for writers whose books had found their way to the Index may have been one of the reasons for the bilateral caution of his relations with Rome after his conversion. Moreover, the fact that—in the face of probable negative reactions from his readers on both sides—he was not quite silent about this controversial writer may provide some clues to his beliefs.

Actually, Smotryc'kyj's lone reference to the archbishop of Split came in his last published work, the *Exaethesis* of 1629. But the story began at least a decade earlier. In the polemic of the years 1620–1623 over the "illegal" restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy, the Uniates sought to discredit Smotryc'kyj as a leader of his side by revealing more and more about his alleged dealings with them in the years just before he took holy orders.

[21] Velykyj 1956:235: "Libros Rev.mi Meletii Smotricii, quos edidit contra Schismaticos, misi ego Illmae ac Rev.mae Dominationi Vestrae; ultimum etiam qui adhuc sub praelo est, mittam quando in lucem prodiit, examinavit Rev.mus Episcopus noster Vladimiriensis qui est bonus theologus, ita ut non videatur esse opus versione latina, quae multum temporis insumeret."

According to their version of events, around the year 1617[22] Smotryc'kyj was meeting regularly with Uniate leaders, was himself a convinced "unionizer," and had agreed to attempt to bring his side with him into union with Rome. And he would have done it, too, according to the Uniate complaints, had it not been for his general timorousness, his fear of scandal, his lust for fortune and power, his lack of real convictions, etc. These charges are so familiar in the Smotryc'kyj affair—and indeed in contemporary accounts of the lives of anyone who converted (or almost converted)—that one is tempted to consider them all nothing more than commonplaces. But one reason given by the Uniates had the allure of specificity:

And at that time he was given the books from the collection of Marcantonio de Dominis, archbishop of Split, the apostate. And having embraced it, he became what he is now. Such is the constancy of this man, that one book of one apostate—who introduced a new unknown sect, one that had not existed previously, and which sect the English Kingdom (to which he had gone) did not wish to receive—so altered him in every regard that *ab equis descendit ad asinos*.[23]

Smotryc'kyj answered almost all the charges brought against him by admitting the substance, but by altering the power structure: it was he, Smotryc'kyj, who had wished, with the blessing of his superior at the Vilnius Brotherhood Monastery, Archimandrite Leontij Karpovyč, to discover what the Uniates were about and to see if there were a way—*acceptable to the Orthodox*—to bring about a reunification of all Rus' (Smotryc'kyj 1621 104–6/451–52; Smotryc'kyj 1622 8^{v}–49^{r}/511). But on de Dominis not a word.

Who was Marcantonio de Dominis?[24] What was the new sect he had invented? Could Meletij have been a secret "member" of it? Let us consider, by way of introduction to the problem, the "circumstantial evidence," the probable affinities between the two archbishops. First, there was the minor but not uninteresting issue of the Slavic connection: de Dominis,

[22] The Uniates wrote concerning these events in 1621 (*Examen* 1621:43/590): "... [Smotryc'kyj] może pomnieć, bo czterech lat temu nie masz. ..."

[23] *Examen* 1621:46/591: "A w tym czasie podano mu xięgi ze zboru Marka Antoniego, arcybiskupa spalateńskiego, apostaty; za ktorą się chwyciwszy, został tym, czym teraz jest. Taki statek tego człowieka, że jedna xiążka jednego apostaty, ktory nową sektę w chrześcijańistwie, dotąd niebywałą, wprowadzał, i ktorej sekty krolestwo angielskiego (do ktorego się był udał) przyjąć nie chciało, tak go we wszytkim odmieniła, że *ab equis descendit ad asinos*."

[24] Of the more recent studies devoted to the career of Marcantonio de Dominis, see Cantimori 1958; Cantimori 1960; Clark 1968; Patterson 1978; Malcolm 1984. On the importance of de Dominis for the Ruthenian debates of the early sixteenth century, I am aware only of Petrov 1879, which, in the light of the material I will present here, will require some revision and amplification. De Dominis's life, death, and especially his posthumous heresy trial, are described briefly, but with great drama, in Redondi 1987: 107–18.

after all, had defended his Dalmatian parishioners' access to the Slavonic liturgy against Counter-Reformation linguistic policy.[25] Could this have been of interest to the author of the *Syntagma*? Second, there was the Jesuit past. De Dominis was an ex-Jesuit and a product of their schools, Smotryc'kyj an unfinished product, if we believe the contemporary account of his expulsion from the Vilnius Academy.[26] Third, there was the habit of talking with all sides about a general church union. De Dominis's world can be evoked by the capitals and leaders that appeared on his spiritual map and between which he shuttled, either in person or through letters: Rome, Split, Venice, Constantinople, London (and back to Rome); Paolo Sarpi, Patriarch Cyril Lukaris of Constantinople, King James of England, Pope Urban VIII. Smotryc'kyj's spiritual and physical pilgrimages took him hardly less far afield, and Lukaris and Barberini played important roles in them. Fourth, there were de Dominis's conversions, his switches of allegiance: with Venice in the pamphlet wars against Rome; with England against the Spanish Jesuit, Francisco Suarez; with Rome against the "schismatics." (I assume there is no need to rehearse here Smotryc'kyj's experiences in these matters.)

Two autobiographical quotations from de Dominis may help to convey some of the intangibles, some of the reasons why we might wish to take seriously the Uniate allegations about the importance of the archbishop of Split for the archbishop of Polack:

> From the earliest years of my priesthood I had an almost innate desire to see the union of all Christ's Churches: I could not regard the separation of West from East, South from North, with equanimity, and I anxiously desired to discover the cause of such great and frequent schisms, and to see if it were possible to find out some way to bring all Christ's Churches to their true and ancient unity.[27]

> I laugh at those who, risking enormous practical difficulty and danger, cross over

[25] See Malcolm 1984: 23, 105–6. De Dominis wrote in book 7 of *De Republica Ecclesiastica*: "Laetor plurimum quod nostra natio Illyrica, etiamsi Romanae ecclesiae addictissima, vulgari tamen lingua Slaua omnia divina officia habere voluit. . . ."

[26] See the report of the nuncio in Warsaw of 1 January 1628 concerning the early years of the new convert (Velykyj 1960: 298): ". . . Meletio, chiamato prima Massimo, havendo studiato nell'Academia di Vilna in Lithuania, fu poi per causa dello Scisma escluso da quella, onde andatosene in Germania e pratticando fra Eretici compose un libro pieno d'heresie, col quale ha sedotto moltissime persone."

[27] English translation from Malcolm 1984: 39. De Dominis 1618: a4^{r}: "Fouebam a primis mei Clericatus annis in me innatum pene desiderium videndae vnionis omnium Christi Ecclesiarum: separationem Occidentis ab Oriente, in rebus fidei; Austri ab Aquilone, aequo animo ferre nunquam poteram: cupiebam anxie tot, tantorumque schismatum causam agnoscere: ac perspicere num posset aliqua excogitari via, omnes Christi Ecclesias ad veram antiquam vnionem componendi: Idque videndi ardebam desiderio."

from one side to the other. . . . The only people who do it wisely are those who want to talk and write freely about the abuses, superfluities and errors of one of the sides, where they may do so without hindrance.[28]

Smotryc'kyj did not cite these passages, but I am increasingly suspicious that he might have nodded at them in recognition. And, as I hope to show in a moment, it is more than likely that he had, in fact, read both of them.

Actually, de Dominis converted twice, once to the Church of England and then back again to the Church of Rome. Each time the event was presented to the world as great confessional theater: de Dominis's public abjuration of schism and affirmation of faith to the applause of his side of the moment and charges of greed, lust for power, and lack of real conviction on the other side. And, much as they treated Smotryc'kyj, his side of the moment praised him in public but had private doubts. Sir Dudley Carleton, viscount of Dorchester and English legate in Venice, said of him: "I cannot say he is so much a Protestant as his writings shew he is not a Papist" (see Malcolm 1984: 61); this statement is typical of the perplexities felt by those who found de Dominis's allegiance hard to gauge. Catholic doubts continued after de Dominis's final return to Rome in 1623, and they would lead to his imprisonment by the newly reinvigorated Inquisition in Castel Sant' Angelo on 18 April 1624, during the first year of the papacy of Urban VIII. One of the reasons given for his imprisonment was that he was once again insisting on his peculiarly inclusive view of the Universal Church, denying the power of the Council of Trent to determine articles of faith (see Malcolm 1984: 78). In any event, he died there an unrepentant heretic—"of natural causes," as the Catholic sources insisted—on 9 September 1624; but even this did not save him from trial for heresy. In one of the great spectacles of the Catholic Reform, de Dominis was tried—*praesente cadavere*—in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva before the Supreme Tribunal of the Inquisition, declared a heretic, his books and bodily remains burned on 21 December 1624 at Campo dei Fiori, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber.

On could easily understand why Smotryc'kyj—both Orthodox and Uniate—would avoid using this name too much in public. Thus the Uniate charges become all the more intriguing: had Smotryc'kyj been under the spell of de Dominis's unusually inclusive vision of a Universal Church in 1617, and had he been shaping his talks with the Uniates (or—equally

[28] English translation from Malcolm 1984: 64–65. This text from book 7 of the *De Republica Ecclesiastica* cited according to Malcolm 1984: 130: "Rideo illos ego qui ingenti incommodo et periculo ab vna ad aliam partem, solius conscientiae causa, transfugiunt. Illi soli prudenter id faciunt, qui de abusibus, superfluitatibus et erroribus alterutrius partis libere disserere, et scribere ibi volunt, vbi impedimentum nullum inueniant."

interesting—also with the Orthodox?) in terms borrowed from the Dalmatian apostate archbishop?

So far I have offered an allegation and some circumstantial evidence. Was there any specific subject of suspicion that might lead us from the domain of slander into that of direct, provable influence of de Dominis upon Smotryc'kyj?

My suspicions first led me to the following passage from Smotryc'kyj's Orthodox *Obrona verificaciey* of 1621, where he had offered the following ecumenical view of the Church:

Is not the Church of God the name of the Christian and Catholic Church? This you cannot deny. But his Majesty the King, Our Gracious Lord, in a *universal* given to Patriarch Jeremiah (whom we have mentioned here) calls our Ruthenian Churches in the obedience of the patriarch, Churches of God. Why do you wonder then that in the privilege which he gave us, he sees fit to call us people of the Christian Catholic religion? For if so, you say, he would have been denying that he himself is of the Catholic faith. You are mistaken Mr. Refuter [i.e., Metropolitan Ruc'kyj, author of *Sowita wina*, which was the refutation of Smotryc'kyj's *Verificatia niewinności*]. I would say that His Majesty the King is better able to define what the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church is than you are. But I do not dare to compare your stupidity to such a high intellect. His Majesty the King is pleased to know that both our sides, the Eastern particular Church and the Western, are contained in the Holy Catholic Church, which is one in its internal constitution, in which the particular Churches began and to which both have the same right. And since they are united by the unity of mutual love, both sides beg the Lord God that He paternally remove and eliminate what separates them, that is, whatever has come between them as a difference *non per defectum*, but *per excessum*. And since, as they say, *defectus fide non utitur, excessu[s] fide abutitur*, therefore His Majesty the King finds no defect in our Holy Greek faith, nor in his own Roman faith. Whereby when he is pleased to call us people of the Greek Catholic Christian religion, he does not deny himself the same Catholic Christian title. Therefore the Refuter is much mistaken in arguing the opposite, not wishing to know that *neque in excessu, neque in defectu* (if he can also say this of his own Church) has the Holy Eastern Church left the Catholic Church.[29]

[29] OV: 77–78: "Zaż Cerkiew Boża, nie iest imię Cerkwie Chrześciańskiey y Katholickiey? Przeć nie możesz. Lecz Krol Iego M. Pan nasz M. w Vniwersale Oycu Patriarsze Ieremiaszowi (o ktorym tu wzmiankę czyniliśmy) danym, Cerkwi nasze Ruskie pod posłuszeństwem Patriarszym będące, Cerkwiami Bożymi nazywa: coż ci za dziw że y w tym swoim nam danym Przywileiu, ludźmi nas Relligiey Chrześciańskiey Katholickiey mianować raczy? Boby tak, mowisz, siebie samego odsądzał wiary Katholickiey. Mylisz się Panie *Redargutorze*. Rzekłbym, lepiey Krol Iego M. vmie, co iest iedyna Ś. Katholicka y Apostolska Cerkiew definiować, niżli ty: ale tępości twey tak wysokiemu rozumowi comparować nie ważę się. Wiedzieć Krol Iego M. raczy, że nas oboią stronę, y Wschodnią, mowiemy, Cerkiew pomiestną y Zachodnią, Cerkiew Ś. Katholica, ktora iest iedyna w wnętrznościach swoich, w ktorych się one zaczęły, nosi: do ktorey iedno y toż prawo obie maią: a prosząc, aby on to, co ie dzieli, to iest, co się kolwiek *non per defectum*, ale *per excessum* w rożnicę miedzy nie podało,

Two main, interrelated points will be of importance for us in this passage: (1) an inclusive definition of faith that refused to exclude from the Church anyone who believed the minimum (that is, who had no "defect"), and that looked with tolerance upon the "excesses" in faith that might differ somewhat among individuals or groups of individuals (e.g., views on transubstantiation, the procession of the Holy Spirit, leavened and unleavened bread, communion under one or two species, the primacy of the bishop of Rome, the number of the sacraments, and other such "indifferent" matters); and (2) a view of a Universal Church that included all the "particular" Churches that had no "defect," even if they differed somewhat in their "excesses" of faith. This, as I have come to realize, was the general sense of Smotryc'kyj's somewhat obscure argument cited above. But more importantly, as I hope to demonstrate in a moment, it was the core definition of de Dominis's monumental chief work, the *De Republica Ecclesiastica* (London and Hanover, 1617–1622).

As far as I have been able to determine on the basis of the subject indices and some not entirely random searching, de Dominis first formulated his definition of orthodoxy and catholicity in his defense of the Church of England against the Spanish Jesuit, Francisco Suarez, which he published following book 6 of the *De Republica Ecclesiastica*. Part 2 of the *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, which included books 5 and 6, along with the answer to Suarez, appeared in London and in Frankfurt in 1620, early enough—although not by much—for Smotryc'kyj to have drawn on it in 1621. In the passage that interests me here, de Dominis referred ahead to book 7, which was not to appear until 1622. Book 7 was devoted in part to the question of the schism between East and West, and as such would certainly have interested Meletij (and I know that he had read it by 1629); although it made broad use of this definition of correct faith that centered on "defects" and "excesses," it could not have been Smotryc'kyj's source in 1621.[30]

oycowsko vprzątnął, y zniosł. A iż *defectus*, iako mowią, *fide non vtitur, excessu fide abutitur*. Nie nayduie przeto Krol Iego M. *defectu* w świętey wierze naszey Graeckiey, nie nayduie y w swey Rzymskiey: zaczym gdy nas ludźmi Relligiey Chrześciańskiey Katholickiey Graeckiey nazywać raczy: siebie samego tegoż tytułu Chrześciańskiego Katholickiego nie odsądza: w czym się *Redargutor*, rzecz przeciwną stanowiąc, bardzo myli, nie chcąc, wiedzieć, że *neque in excessu, neque in defectu* (ieśli y o swey toż rzec może) Ś. Cerkiew Wschodnia z Katholickiey nie wystąpiła."

30 But did Smotryc'kyj already know this definition in 1617? In the same *Obrona verificaciey* of 1621, he defended the Orthodoxy of his overtures toward the Uniates in that earlier period, saying (Smotryc'kyj 1621 106/452): "A co się Zbawienia dotycze wyznawcow wiary Rzymskiey, mogł to bespieczne rzec że *defectus fidei non excessus condemnat*: a zatym, kto to od niego słyszał, to co się iemu podobało, według swego pożądania inferować mogł." I suspect, however, that in 1621 Smotryc'kyj was recasting his conversations of 1617 in the light of his later reading. After all, the author of *Sowita wina* had not accused Smotryc'kyj of using this

What is most important to me here is the nature of the arguments both de Dominis and Smotryc'kyj made. How did de Dominis defend the Church of England? A man who started with an *exclusive* definition of faith would have said "The Church of England is correct in what it believes," and he would likely have gone on to add "And the Church of Rome is wrong." De Dominis, whose definition was unusually *inclusive*, said simply "The Church of England is not wrong in what it believes, and for that matter," he would continue on many occasions, "neither is the Church of Rome, nor are the Lutherans, or the Calvinists, or the Greeks." In fact, among the Christian confessions de Dominis would exclude very few, primarily the Puritans and the "Arians," new and old.

A few passages from de Dominis may help to convey the flavor of his thought and argumentation:

For faith is believing everything that one must believe, whereas infidelity is to believe none of those things. But heresy is to believe some of the things one must believe, but to deny others or not to believe them, or to disbelieve them, whether they be positive or negative. To believe all of them, however, and something in addition, but which, nonetheless is not set forth by God to be believed, even were it false, and were it believed as true and as a thing of faith, I do not consider to comprise in itself either infidelity or heresy, but rather an error, unless, as I said, this bring with it a rejection of the value of some truth revealed by God. And in consequence, to reject, and not to believe as divine faith, those additions that God has not revealed for us to believe, but which men have added, even if they be otherwise true, and not false, does no detriment to true faith, nor does it comprise heresy, nor is there a sin from this, so long as the thing, as it were, not be believed as an article of faith.[31]

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precise definition; he had simply alleged in general terms that in 1617 the future archbishop of Polack had discussed matters of faith with the Uniates, and that he had said that he believed what they believed and that the Romans could achieve salvation in their Church (*Sowita* 1621: 69–71/492–93). This inclusive definition of correct faith was useful not only in defending the Orthodox against the Catholics, but also in defending the Smotryc'kyj of 1617 to the Orthodox against the Uniate allegations of 1621.

However this may be, I have been unable to find this definition in any form in part 1 (books 1, 2, and 3). Perhaps I just have not looked in the right places yet. Still, it is worth considering whether Smotryc'kyj may have first found this way of thinking and arguing in de Dominis's answer to Suarez. This would suggest two observations. First, Smotryc'kyj would seem an avid reader of de Dominis if he drew on part 2 the year after it appeared and if he had already been citing de Dominis to the Uniates in 1617 (the same year part 1 had appeared, and the year after the *Profectionis Consilium*, de Dominis's apology for abandoning Rome for London, had first appeared in a separate edition). Second, it would not have been in any way out of character for Smotryc'kyj to look to a defense of the Church of England against the Church of Rome for ammunition in his defense of Ruthenian Orthodoxy against the Union of Brest.

31 De Dominis 1620: 267: "Fides enim est omnia credenda credere. Infidelitas vero est nihil illorum credere: at haeresis est aliqua credendorum credere, aliqua vero negare seu non credere, aut discredere, siue positiua illa sint, siue negatiua. Credere tamen omnia, et aliquid amplius,

Let us adhere, nonetheless, to the distinction already given: that Catholic faith can suffer detriment either in defect or in excess. Through defect it is truly either destroyed or diminished; through excess, it is not destroyed, rather it is corrupted and disfigured.[32]

Here I wish again to cut short superfluous disputations, and I offer another most common and familiar distinction: it is one thing to speak of the Universal Church, another of the particular Churches.... Moreover, I understand that Church to be Universal which embraces absolutely all the particular Churches, none excepted, nay rather all the faithful, no one excepted.[33]

And the examples could easily be multiplied.

Neither side in the Ruthenian debates can have been completely satisfied with this definition of orthodoxy and catholicity (regardless of the fact that Smotryc'kyj tried to pass it off as common knowledge and as the personal belief of that "high intellect," King Sigismund III Vasa). Probably, it displeased his Orthodox co-religionists.[34] Certainly the Uniate response was negative; it would have been anyway, but one of the central reasons the author of *Examen obrony* (Vilnius, 1621) disagreed with Smotryc'kyj can be found in the conflict between inclusive and exclusive definitions of correct faith:

And he [i.e., the author of *Obrona verificaciey*, i.e., Smotryc'kyj] gave us his *axiomata* as if *ex communi sensu Theologorum: Defectus fide non utitur, Excessus fide abutitur*. Both the *axiomata* and the *distinctio fidei* are new and unheard of amongst

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quod tamen a Deo credendum non proponitur, etiam si id falsum sit, et vt verum, ac de re fide credatur, non puto aut infidelitatem, aut haeresim in se continere: sed errorem; nisi virtute, vt dixi, adsit alicuius veritatis a Deo reuelatae reiectio. Et consequenter reijcere, et non credere fide diuina, illa additamenta, quae Deus credenda non reuelauit, sed homines addiderunt, etiam si alioquin vera sint, et non falsa, nullum facit verae fidei detrimentum, neque haeresim continet, neque peccatum ex eo duntaxat, quod tanquam res de fide non credatur."

32 De Dominis 1620: 269: "Teneamus tamen iam datam distinctionem, quod fides Catholica potest pati detrimentum, vel in defectu vel in excessu. Ex defectu ipsa vere vel perit, vel mutilatur, ex excessu non perit, sed inquinatur et deturpatur."

33 De Dominis 1620: 269: "Hic ego rursus superfluas cupio praecidere disputationes: et aliam appono communissimam et tritam distinctionem; aliquid esse loqui de Ecclesia vniuersali, aliud de Ecclesiis particularibus.... vniuersalem autem Ecclesiam intelligo illam, quae omnes penitus Ecclesiae particulares, nulla dempta, imo vero potius quae omnes fideles, nullo dempto, complectitur."

34 Smotryc'kyj had first couched his argument in terms that implicitly included both East and West in the Universal Church; later in the polemic, he stated that the Romans were mistaken in assuming they suffered no "defect" in faith. This change may reflect Smotryc'kyj's growing frustration with the other side; it was as if he had first said "let us tolerate one another," and when the other side refused, he then said, "well, then, we will not tolerate you either." But it could also be the case that the shift reflected his attempts to quell growing suspicions among the Orthodox about the reliability of their leader.

theologians. And they were invented by a new theologian and an old grammarian.[35]

According to the author of the *Examen*, both the extremes of excess and defect should be avoided since "virtue is always contained in the mean."[36] Thus the Uniate response not only rejected the terms of Smotryc'kyj's argument, but it also rejected its status as "common knowledge," characterizing it as the unhappy invention of the author of the *Syntagma* (this was a way of "respecting" the fiction of anonymity while showing the other side that the ploy had not worked), who ought to have had the sense not to venture from the realm of grammar into that of theology. (It is worth noting that the Uniates seem unaware of de Dominis's influence here; perhaps they had not yet read part 2 of the *De Republica Ecclesiastica*.)

Smotryc'kyj stuck by his definition the next year in *Elenchus pism vszczypliwych* (Vilnius, 1621, pp. 42^{v}–43^{r}/505), and he added new examples in its defense. Interesting in this regard is the fact that he attributed "defects," and thus heresies, to Nestorius, Sabellius, Arius, and Euthyches (see Smotryc'kyj 1622 44/506), two of whom were charged with precisely these transgressions by de Dominis in the context of that first passage I cited from his response to Suarez.[37]

In its *Antelenchus* of 1622, the Uniate side devoted, in turn, an entire chapter to the question: "Does an Excess in Faith Damn [Souls]?" Here again, the Uniates rejected the definition of correct faith given by Smotryc'kyj (and ultimately by de Dominis), stressing that correct faith meant to believe each and every thing revealed by God, neither more nor less. If God revealed one hundred things, then both he who believed ninety-nine of them, and he who believed all of them plus some new thing of his own invention, sinned against the faith.[38] Or to rephrase this

[35] *Examen* 1621:26/579: "Y swoie *axiomata* iakoby *ex communi sensu Theologorum*, nam podał. *Defectus fide non vitutur, Excessus fide abutitur*.... Nowe v Theologow y niesłychane, tak *axiomata*, iako y *distinctio fidei*. Od nowego też Theologa a od dawnego Grammatyka wymyślone."

[36] *Examen* 1621:27/579: "Niechże się nie wstyda nauczyć v dawnieyszego Philosopha y Theologa: W każdey Cnocie trzy rzeczy kładzie Philosophia *moralis*, albo raczey rozum przyrodzony każdego vważnego człowieka: *Medium*, to iest śrzodek, a dwoie *extremum* koło niego, ktore po polsku możemy zwać kraiami abo stronami. Ieden kray możemy zwać *defectem*, drugi *excessem*, a oboie to są *vitia*. Cnota zawsze zawiera się *in medio*, to iest we śrzodku, z ktorego na ktorą się kolwiek stronę do *defectu* abo do *excessu* wychyli, tym samym siłę y imię swe traci, a występkiem zostaie."

[37] See de Dominis 1620:266: "Sic Ariana Ecclesia non erat vera Ecclesia, quia in Christum diminutum credebat, diuinitatem Christo nimirum detrahens: sic Nestoriana, quae vnionem hypostaticam duarum in Christo naturarum negabat: Sic aliae haereses, quae omnes per defectum et ellypsim fidem destruunt...."

[38] *Antelenchus* 36/705–6: "...te rzeczy ktore Pan Bog obiawił, y ktore wierzyć powinniśmy, są w pewney liczbie. Położmysz dla łacnieyszego zrozumienia pewną tych rzeczy

objection in Spalatene-Meletian terms: "*our* 'excesses' are *de fide*; *your* 'excesses' are actually 'defects'."

I have little doubt that de Dominis provided Smotryc'kyj with the crucial definition of faith and Church and with one line of argumentation with which he sought to defend the newly consecrated Orthodox hierarchy throughout the pamphlet wars of 1621–1622. But the nagging question remains: did he believe it? Such a manner of reasoning was ideally suited to defending a politically weaker Church against a politically dominant Church, especially in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where Smotryc'kyj could point out that this sort of mutual confessional toleration was supposed to be the foundation of the political federation.

Perhaps I will be closer to an answer to this question if I can show that de Dominis was in Smotryc'kyj's spiritual baggage when he made his way across the great confessional divide. The lone overt reference to de Dominis in Smotryc'kyj's work came in his last published pamphlet, the *Exaethesis* of 1629. In that work Smotryc'kyj responded to Andrij Mužylovs'kyj's *Antidotum* of 1628 that had been written, in turn, against Smotryc'kyj's own *Apology* of 1628. At one point, in answering his opponent's arguments on the procession of the Holy Spirit, Smotryc'kyj exclaimed: "you sucked all that out of the Spalatene; swallow it together with him."[39] And he wrote in the margin: "In proving this absurdity, the schismatic Antidotist drew upon the schismatic Spalatene."[40] Hardly positive language about the Dalmatian heretic, it is true, but one could not really expect otherwise from the recent convert who was being watched so carefully by his new brethren; and, besides, there were interesting extenuating circumstances that we should note.

First, Mužylovs'kyj had made no mention of de Dominis. This is important. At the very least, we can say that Smotryc'kyj publicly betrayed a familiarity with the arch-heretic when, especially in the first few years after his public conversion, he might just as well have kept silent about the man the Uniates had sought to link to him some seven years earlier, and who had become much more dangerous to mention in the interim.

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liczbę, to iest 100. zaczym tak mowimy: kto wierzy z rzeczy 100. od Pana Boga obiawionych 99. a iedney ostatniey nie wierzy, grzeszy przeciwko wierze przez defekt, bo mu iednego nie dostaie do sta. Kto zasię wierzy sto y nadto iescze iedno, grzeszy przeciwko wierze, nie iuż przez vymę, gdyż wierzy spełna sto, ale przez przydatek, że nad liczbę rzeczy obiawionych zawierzoną, wierzy iednę."

39 Smotryc'kyj 1629 88^v/791: "wyssałeś to absurdum z *Spalatensa*: łykayże ie z nim wespoł."

40 Smotryc'kyj 1629 88^v/791: "W dowodzeniu tego Absurdum zażył Schismatyk Antidotista Schismatyka Spalatensa."

Second, this material on the *filioque*, plus other arguments Smotryc'kyj made immediately thereafter, are from book 7 of the *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, which had appeared in print only in 1622. At the very least, this shows that Smotryc'kyj continued to read de Dominis. In fact, we begin to get the impression that Smotryc'kyj read every installment of de Dominis hot off the presses. In any case, his only overt reference to de Dominis shows that he was still reading him after the pamphlet wars of 1621–1622, even after the heresy trial of 1624.

But most important is the fact that, after a fairly weak jab at de Dominis, Smotryc'kyj went on to enlist his authority against Mužylovs'kyj. This, of course, was standard fare: you always sought to turn your opponent's authority against him. But Mužylovs'kyj had not put de Dominis forward as an authority; he had not even mentioned him. And Smotryc'kyj used here exactly the argument he (and de Dominis) had made in 1621: the Roman Church was not heretical, not necessarily because it was "correct," but because it was "not wrong"; because it had no "defects," only what, according to Smotryc'kyj, de Dominis called "excesses." This is the argument that Smotryc'kyj's Uniate opponents had rejected in 1621–1622.

But did Smotryc'kyj realize that he was drawing upon the work of a convicted heretic? I would guess that he did. Smotryc'kyj seems to have been an eager reader of de Dominis over the ten years preceding 1629, and all of Europe was informed periodically (and in timely fashion), in Latin and in vernaculars, of the archbishop's sensational confessional journey. First, upon his arrival in England, there was his famous *Profectionis Consilium*;[41] then, with his return to Rome in 1623, there were two more apologies for his latest switch in allegiance.[42] The final chapter in his life was made into a public spectacle in Rome, and it was reported to the entire Latin-speaking world by a Pole. Father Abraham Bzowski (Bzovius) was the continuator of Cardinal Baronio's *Annales*, and he had included an account of de Dominis's posthumous adventure in volume 18 that had appeared in Cologne in 1627. Writing in 1629, Smotryc'kyj must have known he was citing Europe's most infamous heretic of recent memory.

[41] Also published in English translation as *A Manifestation of the Motives, Whereupon...Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato...Undertooke his departure thence* (London, 1616).

[42] The first was also published in English translation as *M. Antonius de Dominis Archbishop of Spalato Declares the cause of his Returne, out of England* (Rome, 1623) and reprinted in facsimile in de Dominis 1978. A second was published in English translation as *The Second Manifesto of Marcus Antonius de Dominis...* (Liège, 1623) and reprinted in facsimile in de Dominis 1973. A Polish version of the first was published in Vilnius (without a date of publication) under the title *Marcus Antonius de Dominis Arcybiskup Spalateński Swego zwrocenia się z Angliey, radę przekłada.*

And yet he called him "the Spalatene schismatic." This is no insignificant detail. These were not general terms of disapproval and no one—least of all Meletij Smotryc'kyj—would confuse a schismatic with a heretic. In a fit of frustration you might ascend the ladder of terms of abuse until you got your opponent's attention: "thou schismatic, heretic, infidel, Jew, Turk, Anabaptist," etc. But did anyone ever descend the scale? We might quibble over the order of the terms at the top, but the bottom was fixed. And from the point of view of the Roman Church, de Dominis had died a heretic—no doubt about that.

So what was going on here? My suspicion is that Smotryc'kyj still adhered in some ways—and perhaps this belief was something he "mentally reserved" in large part—to his old Spalatene way of viewing correct faith and the Universal Church. Of course, he was required, in a public work, to place de Dominis in a negative light; but calling him a schismatic—and that only in a marginal note—was being unusually gentle about it. (I might add that Smotryc'kyj was not too delicate in other contexts to call a heretic—e.g., Patriarch Cyril Lukaris—a heretic.) And still he found it possible, against all reason, to employ the Spalatene definition of faith in his response to Mužylovs'kyj. His argument was this: de Dominis had "falsely" treated certain things—the bloodless sacrifice, the mercy seat, transubstantiation, the adoration of the sacrament of the eucharist, the number of the sacraments set at seven, days of fasting established by the Church, the adoration of images, the invocation of the saints, the veneration of the relics of the saints, etc.—as excesses to be tolerated, and so they should be tolerated, especially since the Eastern Church believed them too.[43] This reasoning is remarkably confused. Disapproval—mild at that—was expressed in the adverb "falsely, hypocritically" ("obłudnie"), but then Smotryc'kyj proceeded to make his point as if he had ignored his own qualifier. Were these things "excesses" or were they not? Were they or weren't they *de fide*? The confusion, the inherent contradiction of this argument, may reflect Smotryc'kyj's dilemma, caught between the inclusive definition of faith he

[43] Smotryc'kyj 1629 89ʳ/791: "Ieśliś w opisaniu tego *Absurdum* zażył rady Spalatensowey: czemu też w tym iego rady nie naśladuiesz, że on tego Rzymskiego wyznania Haerezyą, iak wy bluźnicie, nie nazywa; ale ma ie za Prawosławne. że on Wiarę Katholicką Rzymskiemu Kościołowi przyznawa, choć mu excessy w tych Wiary Dogmatach, ktore są iemu z Cerkwią Wschodnią pospolite, obłudnie przypisuie. Iakie są *Sacrificium incruentum, Propitiatorium, Transubstantiatio in Sacramento Eucharistiae panis & vini. Adoratio Sacramenti Eucharistiae, Numerus septenarius Sacramentorum, Ieiunia ab Ecclesia instituta, Imaginum adoratio: Sanctorum inuocatio: Sacrarum reliquarum veneratio*: y tym podobne. W czym ieśli Rzymski Kościoł *excedit*: we wszytkim tym tęż przyganę nosi y Cerkiew Wschodna."

mentally "reserved" and his need to prove the exclusivity of his "Orthodoxy" to his new Catholic masters.

Perhaps de Dominis can offer us a clue to an understanding of Smotryc'kyj's ability to convert and argue the other side so fervently. First, recall de Dominis's statement that the only reason for converting was to be able to criticize the abuses of the other side in relative peace. There are some indications that this was a way of thinking Smotryc'kyj found congenial. Second, a crucial motivation for de Dominis's return to Rome was his horror of schism, together with his realization that the English secular and religious leaders did not share his ecumenical views: "The Protestants really cannot claim that they left the Roman Church justifiably because it was schismatical. It did not make a schism, it *suffered* a schism."[44] Smotryc'kyj would argue more or less along these same lines as a Uniate: if the Roman Church is not heretical (if it only insisted a bit too fervently on a few *excessus fidei*, he may have mentally reserved), then the Eastern Church could not separate itself from the Western, barring some heresy on the part of the Romans, without becoming schismatic:

> In the sundering of one Church from the Church, that particular Church suffers the sin and shame of schism, which, not having any proper reason, does not wish to unite with the second sundered Church, even though it is summoned to do so. And there can be no other proper reason for this but heresy itself.[45]

(Even here, in using the term "particular Church," Smotryc'kyj may have been thinking in Spalatene terms.)

Consider the following passages, the one from de Dominis, the other from Smotryc'kyj, each explaining why he had reverted/converted to the Roman Church:

> I would to God, that they to whome folishly I fled, would acknowledg their most miserable spirituall estat, not only for heresies, but also for their schisme to be most desperate: from which schisme now I have shewed that they cannot be excused, because they haue vnlawfully separated themselues from the true Church of Christ, which is our Catholike Roman Church. And this poynt affrighted me, because schismatiks are excluded from being the Children of God: for *Deum non habent patrem* (saith S. Cyprian) *qui Ecclesiam (veram) non habent matrem*.... (cited according to de Dominis 1978: 74–75)

[44] De Dominis 1666: "Protestantes sane...non posse secessionis causam legitimam allegare quod Ecclesia Romana sit Schismatica; Illa enim Schisma non fecit, sed passa est...."

[45] Smotryc'kyj 1628[a] 113/580: "W rozerwaniu sie abowiem iedney Cerkwie od Cerkwie, ta pomiestna Cerkiew grzech y hańbę Schismy ponosi, ktora nie maiąc słuszney przyczyny, z rozerwaną drugą pomiestną Cerkwią, y wzywana bywszy, ziednoczyć sie nie chce. A słuszna przyczyna tego insza bydź nie może, tylko sama Hęresis."

> ... since I know well that it is a more useful thing to be a lay person in the Catholic Church than an archbishop in the schismatic Church, I do not care about that in the least. For lay people in the Church of God are its *legitimi* sons and the natural heirs to the Kingdom of Heaven; but bishops in the schism are not *legitimi*, nor do they have the right of inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven. *Non potest Deum habere Patrem qui Ecclesiam non habet Matrem* says St. Cyprian.... Therefore, knowing about this, I do not care in the least for what you offer me, satisfied as I am with the exaltation I receive from the fact that I am in the Church of God, and therefore I have the Church of Christ the Lord as mother and God as father, which I could not have had in the schism, even as an archbishop.[46]

The similarities here could, of course, be nothing more than shared conventions: the use of the citation from St. Cyprian may have been simply common fare under the structural conditions of this particular sort of polemic. And yet, there is every chance that Smotryc'kyj, the avid reader of the *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, had also read de Dominis's re(re)cantation. However this may be, the point I wish to make here is that when Smotryc'kyj converted to the Uniate Church, he was still using a type of reasoning that he had in common with de Dominis. When each man found himself in Rome (the one physically, the other confessionally), they each motivated their discussion in the following terms: Church unity is the highest good; the Roman Church is not wrong, therefore it is not right to be separate from it.

Once again, this was an argument that could please neither side; it remained far too "inclusive." De Dominis—whether a direct borrowing from him or simply an affinity with him—helps explain why no one was ever quite certain what Smotryc'kyj believed or whether he could be trusted. As an Orthodox (except for in *Threnos*) he argued, in essence, "We do not have a defect of faith, and any excesses we have are not heretical, so leave us—your fellow particular Church of the Universal Church—in peace" (see Smotryc'kyj 1621 77–78/437–38). The other side of this coin was that when his Uniate opponents of the pre-conversion period tried to discredit him by claiming "But you said we could be saved in our Roman Church," he could respond with something along the lines of "Of course I did, and so you can: leave us alone" (see Smotryc'kyj 1621 106/452).

46 Smotryc'kyj 1628^{b} 23/656: "... widząc ia to dobrze, że pożytecznieysza iest rzecz bydź w Cerkwi Katholickiey Laikiem, niż w Cerkwi Schizmatyckiey Archiepiskopem, namniey o to nie trwam. Laicy abowiem w Cerkwi Bożey, *legitimi* iey są synowie, y krolestwa niebieskiego przyrodni dziedzice: a Episkopowie w Schizmie y *legitimi* nie są, y dziedzictwa do krolestwa niebieskiego nie maią: *Non potest Deum habere Patrem, qui Ecclesiam non habet Matrem*; mowi Cyprian ś.... Przetoż wiedząc ia o tym, na to co mi przekładacie, namniey się nie oglądam, dosyć maiąc na owym powyższeniu, że się w Cerkwi Bożey nayduię; a przez to, mam Cerkiew Pana Chrystusową za matkę, a Boga za oyca: czego w Schizmie y Archiepiskopem będąc, mieć nie mogłem."

Conversely, as a Uniate he now said to his Orthodox opponents, in effect, "The Roman Church is not incorrect in its faith, so what would it hurt to live in unity with it?" (see Smotryc'kyj 1628[b] 49–52/669–71). As a Uniate, Smotryc'kyj's argument was always "Ortholog was wrong (as also Philalet, Zyzanij, etc.); the Romans are 'not wrong'."[47]

But if Smotryc'kyj was unequivocal in his later rejection of Ortholog, he was less clear in his attitude toward his career as Orthodox archbishop of Polack. Witness to this are his own conflicting statements about his conversion. At times he spoke of his heretical writings (in the plural) and of the fact that he, an archbishop of his Church, did not know in 1624 what he believed, and that this was what compelled him to go to Constantinople for answers to his questions.[48] This would make the divide correspond more or less to his official switch in allegiance. But on a few occasions—and with more risk, in my opinion, since this was guaranteed to raise suspicions with his new masters—Smotryc'kyj placed the break sometime after the writing of *Threnos* in the 1610s.[49] This biography could satisfy no one on either side. It said, in effect, "I was never entirely yours (this directed to the Orthodox), and I am now not entirely yours (this directed to the Uniates)." And the switch that occurred in this period—NB, Smotryc'kyj may have been struggling with these ideas a year or two before he first read de Dominis in 1617—was likely a switch from the exclusive definition of faith that was a part of his way of thinking for the rest of his life. On matters of Church and faith there are many fundamental points of agreement between Smotryc'kyj's writings of 1621–1622 and those of 1628–1629, and on occasion the archbishop himself said so.

Smotryc'kyj seems to have presented just this spiritual biography to Alexander Zasławski in 1627 when he was considering joining the side of the Uniates. Zasławski, whose definition of faith was probably exclusive, naturally desired to know why, if Smotryc'kyj had reached this turn in his

47 Typical is Smotryc'kyj's reference to "Orthodox blasphemies" and "Roman non-blasphemy" (Smotryc'kyj 1628[a] 100/573): "Co oboie, to iest, Rzymskie niebluźnierstwo, a swoie bluźnierstwa vważaiąc. . . ." Again, I suspect this formulation may owe something to a way of viewing correct faith that Smotryc'kyj shared with de Dominis.

48 To cite one example: see Smotryc'kyj 1628[a] 11/528: "To mię dolegało. . . że ia Episzkop, ba y Archiepiszkop w Cerkwi narodu mego Ruskiego nie wiedziałem com wierzył."

49 Smotryc'kyj 1628[a] 105–6/576: ". . . nie wspominam verificatiey, obrony iey, Elenchu, Iustificatiey, y tym podobnych. w ktorych iedney po drukiey, im daley, tym rzadszy byłem w następowaniu na dogmata prawdziwe, szerszy w rzeczach potocznych, pod te czasy nagle przypadłych. . . . Po wszytkim tym, w Roku 1621. Lamentowe błędy y Haerezye porzucić vsądziwszy, wziąłem, przed siebie, nie bez woli Bożey, ktorego w pracy tey osobliwey łaski, nad godność y gotowość moię doznawałem, poważny sposob dochodzenia tey prawdy, ktorą my w Przodkach naszych z Cerkwie ś. Wschodniey przyięli: to iest, sposobem Dialogu Kathechism wiary dogmat pisać, Pana Boga mego na pomoc wziąwszy, począłem."

life in the 1610s, he had not converted at that time but had gone on to write even more works against the Catholic Church.[50] This seems to have been one of the things that caused Zasławski to demand written proof of faith and allegiance from Smotryc'kyj. And yet, Smotryc'kyj repeated this statement of his *curriculum vitae* in public on a few occasions after Zasławski had voiced his concerns in private. Could these statements, along with his use of de Dominis, have contributed to Smotryc'kyj's reluctance to send Latin translations of his works to Rome? Did he strive to keep a certain distance from his new masters?

In characterizing the importance of de Dominis for Smotryc'kyj, it is important to bear in mind that *De Republica Ecclesiastica* was a grab bag of ideas for polemicists of various stripes, above all for those who were antipapal. Among the Orthodox alone, we know of its importance for Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's *Palinodija* (see Petrov 1879: 350) and, if we believe Smotryc'kyj, for Andrij Mužylovs'kyj's *Antidotum*. And probably it was more widely known than this. But the crucial difference between Smotryc'kyj and the others—and this, I believe, lay at the heart of the archbishop of Polack—was that he drew not primarily (if at all) upon the antipapal arguments, but upon the inclusive definition of faith and Church that, in turn, lay at the heart of de Dominis.

In view of the fact that the post-conversion Smotryc'kyj exhibited a certain desire to conform, we will probably never by entirely sure what other ideas he may have borrowed from de Dominis. I suspect that the Uniate Smotryc'kyj continued to think in Spalatene terms when he wrote of faith and Church. For example, let us ask ourselves what Smotryc'kyj meant when he wrote of the "Universal Church" (*Cerkiew Powszechna* or *Kościół Powszechny*)? At one level, by Universal Church he meant simply Catholic Church. Here Smotryc'kyj could follow the usage of the Polish Jesuits who had, about a generation earlier, introduced the term *powszechny* as a literal translation of the word 'Catholic' in order to reassert claims of universality or catholicity for the Roman Catholic Church (see Górski 1962: 258–60). Thus, Smotryc'kyj could use this term and expect (or hope?) that Polish Catholic authorities would assume he meant thereby exactly what they did: that the Universal Church and the Church of Rome as defined by the Council of Trent were coterminous. But the term was ambiguous, and this may

[50] See Zasławski's letter to Smotryc'kyj of 16 February 1627, cited according to Suša 1666: 45: "Verum meminisse suorum velit verborum, se non a sexennio, sed plusquam a decennio agnouisse errorem, non spiritum Dei in se operatum, cum pestilens scripsisset lamentum; Sed spiritu, pace eius dixerim, ambitionis, spiritu haereseos, quem in scholis attraxisset haereticis. Ecquid ergo Vestra Reuerendissima Paternitas, alios procudit libros? in quibus ea quae in lamento continebantur, confirmabat, collaudabat, et reuoluere cuique suadebat."

not have been quite what Smotryc'kyj meant, had he felt free to state his views more directly. As a Uniate, Smotryc'kyj would continue to use the general conceptual framework of a Universal Church comprising several particular Churches that he first attributed to that "high intellect," King Sigismund III Vasa, but which he really had from de Dominis.[51] And there are some indications that certain aspects of Smotryc'kyj's thoughts about and hopes for a reform of the Universal Church were in line with those of de Dominis. Both men would eventually acknowledge the primacy of the pope, but both gave much attention to a structure of Church order that would, in practice, limit the pontiff's role. Smotryc'kyj, like de Dominis, seems to have thought in terms of a Universal Church composed of many local or "particular Churches," where a national patriarch and councils of bishops would rule, and where the differences, the "excesses" of each national Church would be tolerated.[52] Thus the Uniate Smotryc'kyj's frequent call for episcopal synods and for the foundation of a Ruthenian national Church under the jurisdiction of a local patriarch may also have been encouraged in part by the writings of the Spalatene heretic. And consequently, to come full circle, when Smotryc'kyj wrote of the "Universal Church," he may have had the Jesuit's *Kościół Powszechny* in mind, but he may also have been thinking of de Dominis's *Ecclesia Universalis.*

But Smotryc'kyj was not de Dominis. While neither man's inclusive vision extended beyond the Christian confessions, de Dominis excluded only the radical reformed groups; Smotryc'kyj—at least in his public pronouncements—excluded all of the reformed. Further, de Dominis had been intolerant in his insistence upon mutual toleration, and he had paid the price. Smotryc'kyj survived, surrounded by the suspicion and mistrust of his new colleagues, writing ever stronger defenses of Rome to his Orthodox compatriots and ever more obsequious letters to Rome and to Urban VIII. Smotryc'kyj's tolerance extended to his demands for toleration. In now asking his former co-religionists to tolerate the "excesses" of the Roman Church, he was, of course, well aware that this meant tolerating the Roman insistence that some of them—the primacy of the pope above all—were *de fide.*

[51] See Smotryc'kyj 1628[a] 102–4/574–75: "Vważenie o Cerkwi powszechney y pomiestney."

[52] On de Dominis's view of church order, see Cantimori 1960: 109. Smotryc'kyj's calls for episcopal councils were constant in his Uniate period. He argued in favor of establishing a local Kievan patriarchate on the Muscovite model in the *Paraenesis* (51ff/670ff) of 1628.

De Dominis's thought has been characterized as "utopian" (see Cantimori 1960). This is probably a reasonable assessment. His program for Church Union relied upon a considerable amount of flexibility and good will on all sides: the will to be united coupled with the will to tolerate, the will of the flock to follow the chief shepherd along with the pontiff's will to relinquish power to the local councils of bishops. There was quite a lot of hopeful thinking here. My impression is that Smotryc'kyj hoped for some of these same things and sought on occasion to bring some of them about, but that he had also made himself more dependent upon the "real" world than had de Dominis, and that his career tells the story of continually frustrated hopes.

The material I have cited encourages me in my suspicion that it will finally be necessary to make a reevaluation of Smotryc'kyj's life and of his act of conversion. Is it not likely that the conversion per se, the switch of allegiance from the patriarch of Constantinope to the bishop of Rome, applied more to external things than to faith? That Smotryc'kyj simply exchanged one set of *excessus fidei* (as de Dominis would have put it) for another? And that he was motivated not so much by considerations of correct doctrine, or of fame or temporal wealth, but by considerations of political power, and by a realization that the Orthodox lacked the will to be united and that the Catholics lacked the will to tolerate an autonomous Ruthenian Orthodox Church? In the end, Smotryc'kyj may have felt a need to be aligned with the side which, for whatever reasons, had the will to be united and had the political power to try to compel the other side to be united with it.

Smotryc'kyj's real "conversion" was an almost lifelong process and included many stages that are discernible to us at this distance and, doubtless, many others about which we will never know. There was some sort of break with old ways sometime in the 1610s, after he had begun to have doubts about having published *Threnos*. This break probably included in it some aspects of the issues I have raised here: above all, a switch from an "exclusivist" to an "inclusivist" view of Church and faith, and a desire that the bishops exercise more of their power over the local Church. Thus, there were two periods of negotiations with both sides—perhaps informed, in part, by considerations of these two topics—the first ca. 1617, the second ca. 1627, both followed the next year by Smotryc'kyj's attempts to prove his unwavering allegiance, the first time to the Orthodox side, the second time to the Uniate side. And both times there are indications that, Smotryc'kyj's public protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, neither he nor his masters of the moment were entirely comfortable with the results.

I suspect that the real Smotryc'kyj, the Smotryc'kyj who operated most openly in terms of his real beliefs, is to be sought in those somewhat mysterious few years before 1618 and again before 1628, when he moved most freely back and forth between the two camps. There is little risk involved in suspecting this, since these are precisely the periods from which we have no immediate records: Smotryc'kyj published no confessional works in these periods; his later pronouncements about them were quite definitely colored by his need at the moment to portray himself as absolutely unmovable in his beliefs and allegiances.

But one other thing, in addition to the material I have presented so far in this paper, encourages me in my suspicions. Several times Smotryc'kyj raised the issue of whether his world was divided into two or more than two camps. His point of departure in *Paraenesis* (Cracow, 1628) was to answer rumors and allegations that he was now seeking to introduce some third sect into a nation already divided in two.[53] In his letter to Patriarch Cyril Lukaris of Constantinople, he asked (probably not entirely in good faith): "Are we in agreement with the Romans or with the Protestants, or do we adhere to and confess some third, middle thing?"[54] And in *Exaethesis* (Lviv, 1629) he wrote that he had been uncertain "which faith was that pure and immaculate faith: that, which I and our other writers before me had described, or that one to which the Uniate responses pointed us, or finally some other, third one."[55] The precise definition of the three differs—Protestants, Catholics, and the "other," or Uniates, Orthodox, and the "other"—but the general structure of the situation remained the same. In each case, Smotryc'kyj left the question at least partially unanswered, allowing his readers to draw their own conclusions. Since he rejected the Orthodox "new theologians," most would assume that he sided with the Uniates and Catholics, implicitly rejecting the unspecified third possibility. And probably he did think this way. I suspect, however, that a key to understanding Smotryc'kyj's dilemma was that he was a man who—like de Dominis—felt more at home with some "third" way, but that he was at some level a conformist who—unlike de Dominis—had a need to submit to authority.[56]

[53] Smotryc'kyj 1628^{b} 3/646: ". . . abym vprzątnął tę o sobie suspicyą. . . że mię owi vdaią za Vnita; a drudzy, że coś nowego zamyślam: y tak na trzecią część Ruś rozerwać pokuszam się."
[54] Smotryc'kyj 1628^{b} 78/684: ". . . z Rzymiany lub z Ewangelikami nam iest zgoda, lub też co trzeciego śrzedniego my trzymamy y wyznawamy."
[55] Smotryc'kyj 1629 7^{v}–8^{r}/708: "Gdyżem *Cognitione speciali* nie wiedział, ktora by Wiara, tą czystą y niepokalaną wiarą była. Ta, ktorą ia, y Ci naszy przede mną scriptorowie opisaliśmy: lub ta, na ktorą nam vkazowały rescripta Unitskie: Abo też ktora insza, trzecia."
[56] In dedicating his *Apology* of 1628 to Aleksander Zasławski, Smotryc'kyj praised him for being a man who knew how to steer a middle course between the demands of the Catholic authorities and the things acceptable to their Orthodox subjects (Smotryc'kyj 1628^{a} *2^{v}/519:

In matters more easily hidden from view, Smotryc'kyj sought all his life at some practical level to define that "third, middle thing," partially by borrowing from the other two, better defined, confessions and cultures. For example: he elaborated an Orthodox variant of Polish sacred philology; he created a Ruthenian version of the Polish language and a Ruthenian Polish rhetoric; and, even in matters of Church and faith, I suspect he sought at the practical level to define a Ruthenian "third way," but that he was too much the conformist, and never in strong enough a position, to state overtly what his program might have been.[57]

Those mysterious, poorly delineated periods in Smotryc'kyj's life—ca. 1613–1617 and 1623–1627—were, in my opinion, the times when Smotryc'kyj sought to realize most actively a third way: the first time, perhaps, to convince everyone that the Union of Florence was all the union the Commonwealth really needed, and that it was worth respecting; and the second time, that the Ruthenians should establish their own independent patriarchate. In that first period, ca. 1613–1617, Smotryc'kyj's argument was based on an outdated vision of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where each member-nation could expect that its freedoms of conscience would be respected. The second—and perhaps this was the real motivation for the change of allegiance—was based on a more pragmatic view of the possibilities for toleration in the Commonwealth of the late 1620s. Thus, the idea of the Ruthenian patriarchate and the local councils of bishops may well have been for Smotryc'kyj a means to that third end, a compromise, a way of winning peace from the stronger party while maintaining some degree of distance from Rome.

"...zażywaiąc sposobow, ktoreby y Kościoła Rzymskiego ku W.X.M. nie obrażały, y Wschodney Cerkwie molestne być nie zdały się: idąc *medio tutissimus*."). I suspect that this *modus operandi* described the archbishop of Polack at least as well as it did the Catholic senator.

[57] In that same letter to Lukaris, Smotryc'kyj asked (Smotryc'kyj 1628[b] 77/683): "Trydentskiegoli Synodu o tych Boskich rzeczach vchwała ma mi bydź w naśladowaniu, lub też ta strona, naprzeciwko ktorey ten Synod w tych wiary Artykułach pracował." The question was probably not entirely in good faith, but it is nonetheless revealing of Smotryc'kyj's dilemma. Was there no third way in matters of faith? What did the Orthodox believe, if they did not believe what their "new theologians" had taught them. (And what ever happened to that Ruthenian catechism Smotryc'kyj wrote in 1621–1623, sent off to Constantinople to have censored by Lukaris, and submitted to Mohyla and Borec'kyj for discussion at the Kiev Council of August 1628? Did Meletij suppress it? Is its presence in the documents as a desideratum, but absence at any practical level, an expression of Smotryc'kyj's reluctance to prescribe any more than a minimal creed, his uncertainty as to what belonged to that minimum, and his fear of seeming to reject the power of the Council of Trent to determine articles of faith?)

Referring to the work of Frances Yates, Hugh Trevor-Roper (1978: 218) has recently suggested that we think in terms of a sort of early international ecumenical "movement" that began to grow in the period of relative peace in the early seventeenth century, and which might include such disparate figures as Richard Hooker, Justus Lipsius,[58] J.-A. de Thou, Isaac Casaubon, Hugo Grotius, Lancelot Andrewes, Paolo Sarpi, Archbishop Laud, and Cyril Lukaris. The year 1618 is the symbolic date for the end of the irenic hopes of these early ecumenicists; after the beginning of the Thirty Years War, each of these figures had to find their way in the new, harsher reality. Of course, Marcantonio de Dominis also belongs in this group. In the picture that is beginning to emerge from less partisan treatments, the archbishop of Split is no longer presented as the faithless opportunist, but as, in a sense, the first martyr of the "pre-ecumenical" movement of the early seventeenth century.[59] I would like to suggest that a more useful way of viewing Meletij Smotryc'kyj and the dilemma of his life would be to place him as a member of this ecumenical international and to examine his life's work, including his conversion, as yet another way a "pre-irenicist," "pre-ecumenicist" (these are terms suggested by Cantimori 1960) sought to survive in the Europe of the 1620s.

As I see it now, the dilemma of Meletij Smotryc'kyj was this: although he may have believed in a world, felt most at home in a world, that comprised more than two camps, of which more than one was—in Spalatene terms—"not wrong," he nonetheless realized later in life that he was actually living in a world that was neatly divided into two camps, of which—by virtue of the power structure that was coming increasingly to the fore in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth—one was "right," and the other was an undifferentiated amalgam of all those who were "not right." Thus, Smotryc'kyj may have reasoned, in order to defend my nation, its Church and culture, and in order to see them survive and take their places among the nations and Churches of the Commonwealth and of Europe in the early seventeenth century, it is necessary that they be aligned with the "right."

And the irony of Smotryc'kyj's solution was this: all his attempts were wrong. There was no acceptable way at that moment—acceptable to Orthodox society and to the Catholic powers—to be an "inclusivist,"

58 Lipsius was another of Smotryc'kyj's "near silences." As in the case of de Dominis, Smotryc'kyj cited him only once, but his recourse to Tacitus and Seneca may help us to characterize the archbishop as a Ruthenian Lipsian.

59 See the works of Cantimori (1958 and 1960), as well as Clark 1968; Patterson 1978; Malcolm 1984.

"unionizing" leader of the Orthodox Ruthenian Church. There were not two Smotryc'kyjs, as contemporary propaganda and later scholarship would have it. There was one Smotryc'kyj—at least after the rejection of *Threnos* in the 1610s—with many public faces. His career, from the mid-1610s to the end of his life, with all its contradictions and about-faces, was a series of frustrated attempts to define and defend a Ruthenian Church, nation, and culture that was "inclusive" and still "included," tolerant but yet tolerated. He was thwarted by the society he wished to defend, which could not always recognize itself in his definition of it, and by the powers to which he wished to defend it, who would not accept the level of autonomy he accorded his local Church, nation, and culture.

To return now to the questions I posed at the outset, I would like to suggest that the truth about what Meletij Smotryc'kyj believed was much more complicated than the neat portrayals his contemporary detractors and supporters (including himself) offered. One important (and overlooked) aspect of his beliefs was the inclusive nature of his definition of Church and faith, a definition he probably borrowed from Marcantonio de Dominis and one to which he adhered much of his life. I suspect that the Orthodox were aware of this part of Smotryc'kyj's beliefs before his conversion, and this caused some of their early doubts concerning the reliability of their leader; I further suspect that the Uniates and Catholics noticed the inclusivity of his beliefs after his conversion, and that they thus attributed his change of allegiance to some motivation more pragmatic than a sudden realization of the dogmas of correct faith. My impression is that there were some core beliefs that characterized Meletij Smotryc'kyj and that they probably included the will to be united in one Church and the desire for tolerance and peace. His career from the mid-1610s might thus be examined in terms of a series of frustrated attempts to salvage some portions of that vision, the continuing failure of which rendered him ever more isolated in his Church and nation.

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DOCUMENTS

The Will and Testament of Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj

VOLODYMYR ALEKSANDROVYČ

Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj is known in the history of Ukrainian culture as the author of the book TEPATOYPΓHMA *lubo cuda które były tak w samym świętocudotwornym Monastyru Pieczarskim Kiiowskim, iako y w obudwu świętych pieczarach, w których po woli Bożey Błogosławieni Oycowie Pieczarscy pożywszy, y ćiężary Ciał swoich złożyli* (Teraturgēma, or miracles which happened both in the holy wonder-working Caves Monastery of Kiev itself and in the two holy caves where the blessed Caves fathers lived by God's will and laid down the ballasts of their bodies; Kiev, 1638). The *Teraturgēma* was written as a continuation of Syl'vestr Kosov's *Paterikon*, which was based on stories from the *Paterik* of the Kievan Caves Monastery published three years earlier. The appearance of both books constituted one of the stages in a large-scale cultural program, founded on the traditions of Kievan Rus', which aimed at emphasizing Kiev's role as a cultural and spiritual center and sought to promote its affirmation as an outstanding cultural center.

The direct participation of Metropolitan Peter Mohyla in the compilation of the *Teraturgēma* demonstrates the importance assigned to it. Not only were his own notes widely used by Kal'nofojs'kyj for the book, but a number of stories that the Metropolitan dictated to the author were also included. Kal'nofojs'kyj's own indication of his intention to "polish" the *Teraturgēma* at the "Mohyla Atheneum" (the Kiev Mohyla Collegium)[1] shows that Kal'nofojs'kyj worked on it while in close contact with the leading cultural figures of contemporary Kiev.

The person of Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj himself has remained an enigma until now. Documentary biographical materials do not exist; therefore, practically speaking, the only source of information about him is the *Teraturgēma* itself. It contains sparse biographical information limited to 1630–1638. Apparently, Kal'nofojs'kyj had been in Kiev at least since

[1] *Seventeenth-Century Writings on the Kievan Caves Monastery*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 4, p. 123.

1630. He was closely associated with the contemporary cultural milieu of Kiev surrounding the collegium and was one of Metropolitan Peter Mohyla's inner circle. The assignment of such a responsible task as the writing of the *Teraturgēma* to Kal'nofojs'kyj indicates the important position he held among the cultural figures of Kiev at the time. The only addition to this meager information is a notation (dated 1638) made by Kal'nofojs'kyj in the margin of a copy of *Triodion* (Kiev, 1631), in which he refers to himself as hegumen of Vinnycja.[2] The monastery of Vinnycja, and the school established in it, was a branch of the cultural center of Kiev; that Kal'nofojs'kyj held the position of hegumen of Vinnycja is another measure of his stature vis-à-vis Peter Mohyla and the circle of cultural figures in Kiev.

A recently discovered substantial source of information about Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj is his will and testament, held in the Central State Historical Archives of the Ukrainian SSR in Lviv. It is extant in the form of a record entered into the Peremyšl' (Przemyśl) castle court record books after the death of Afanasij by a person empowered by his brother, the nobleman Petro Kal'nofojs'kyj. This copy of the will is dated 28 July 1646. Because of the information included in it, this, the only documentary record about Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj yet discovered, is also one of the most valuable documents concerning the cultural life of Kiev during the first half of the seventeenth century.

An analysis of the existing text reveals that the will recorded at the Peremyšl' castle court was made from a copy rather than from the original. There were either some omissions in the copy itself or such omissions were made by the Peremyšl' notary (*pysar*). This is suggested by the fact that immediately after the traditional opening formula a list of books is cited, without the transitional segment that is usual in this type of document. These books, it is stated in the will, together with other things, are intended for "the said Kiev Brotherhood," which implies that previous mention of the Brotherhood had been made. There seems to be another omission following the disposition to Peter Mohyla of a copper icon of the Mother of God; This part of the will is not quite clear. It is also possible that the recorded copy was made from a draft rather than from the final edited text, because the testator makes references or additions to material covered earlier in the will. For example, in one place Kal'nofojs'kyj lists his own books, intended for the Kiev Brotherhood, and then later adds to that list the Greek Bible from "Father Kopystens'kyj." Books from the "Kiev library" that are to be

[2] Xv. Titov, *Materijaly dlja istoriji knyžnoji spravy na Vkrajini v XVI–XVIII vv. Vsezbirka peredmov do ukrajins'kyx starodrukiv* (Kiev, 1926), p. 255.

returned to it are mentioned both in the middle and toward the end of the will. The absence of a concluding formula, with the signature of the testator—usual in wills—is also noteworthy. Here it is replaced by the corroborating signature of Peter Mohyla. Such characteristics as these suggest that the Peremyšl' copy of the will was made from a draft, written by Kal'nofojs'kyj himself, but not from the final, finished original. The multilingualism of the will also suggests that the original, or copy, used was a draft.

These peculiarities of the discovered copy do not diminish in the least the significance of this unique document. The lists of books in the personal library of the writer and those borrowed by him from the "Kiev library"[3] are of considerable importance. In addition to a set of the classics—works of Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Tacitus, Seneca, Plutarch, etc.—which was a must for every educated man of that time, works on mathematics, the natural sciences, philosophy, and history are also listed. A considerable part of the library consists of handbooks of various disciplines. Of particular interest is the manuscript recorded as "An epitome of the chronology of our holy father Nestor to give a systematic guide to the boys so that they might know the deeds of their nation." Since this part of the will is in Latin, the original title of the manuscript remains unknown. This is the first known indication that old Ruthenian chronicles were adapted for use in schools. Perhaps this first history handbook was the basis for the *Synopsis* of 1674.

The will increases our knowledge of the literary activity of Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj. He mentions a manuscript of his epigrams, submitting them for "correction by all the brethren who are poets," and "two fascicles on various matters" which he ordered to be burnt. Kal'nofojs'kyj may also have been the author of the manuscript collection of sermons which he wills to the Monastery of Dobromyl'.

The will provides some new biographical details about Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj. He was, apparently, from a West Ukrainian gentry family from—as his surname demonstrates—the village of Kanafosty (now in the Sambir raion of Lviv oblast').[4] The generous gifts to the Monastery of Dobromyl' may indicate that he took his monastic vows there. The significant number of handbooks in his personal library and his close connections with Kiev scholars speak in favor of the possibility of his teaching at the Kiev Mohyla Collegium. Documentary confirmation of the previously

3 Kal'nofojs'kyj meant the library of the Caves Monastery, as can be seen from the passage in which he asks that the "Paterikon of Father Jelysej, the paramonarios" (of the Caves Monastery), be returned to the "Kiev library."

4 The name comes from the older form of the village name, Kalni Fosty (Chwosty).

known fact of Kal'nofojs'kyj's position as hegumen of Vinnycja is also important. According to the will, he administered the monastery through his vicar. The indications of the writer's closeness to the Kiev Brotherhood and the related information about the Brotherhood's activity on the eve of the Xmel'nyc'kyj uprising are important and interesting. The will describes more completely Kal'nofojs'kyj's Kiev entourage. Finally, the will makes it possible to determine quite accurately the date of his death, which apparently occurred in the first half or near the middle of 1646.

A complete study of all aspects of this document remains for the future. Still, it can be concluded that scholarship has been enriched by this documentary source on the history of Ukrainian culture on the eve of the Xmel'nyc'kyj uprising—a source of extraordinary value.

In the transcription of the will and testament that follows, the supralinear letters and the expanded abbreviations have been placed in pointed brackets. Capitalization and punctuation follow modern orthography.

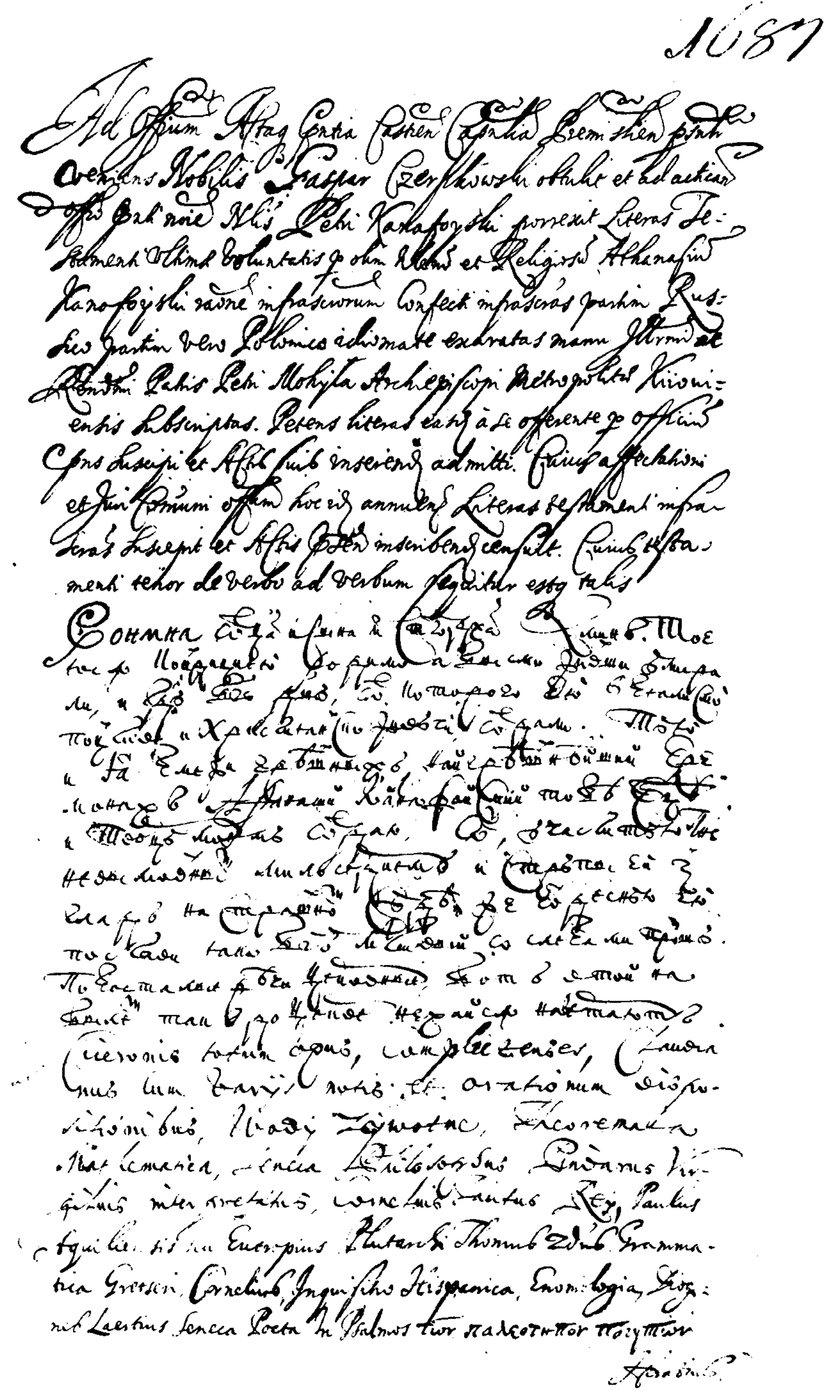
The text of the will was edited with the help of Natalija Jakovenko and Bohdan Strumiński, to whom I express my sincere thanks.

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Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Lviv

Translated by Bohdan Strumiński

Facsimile

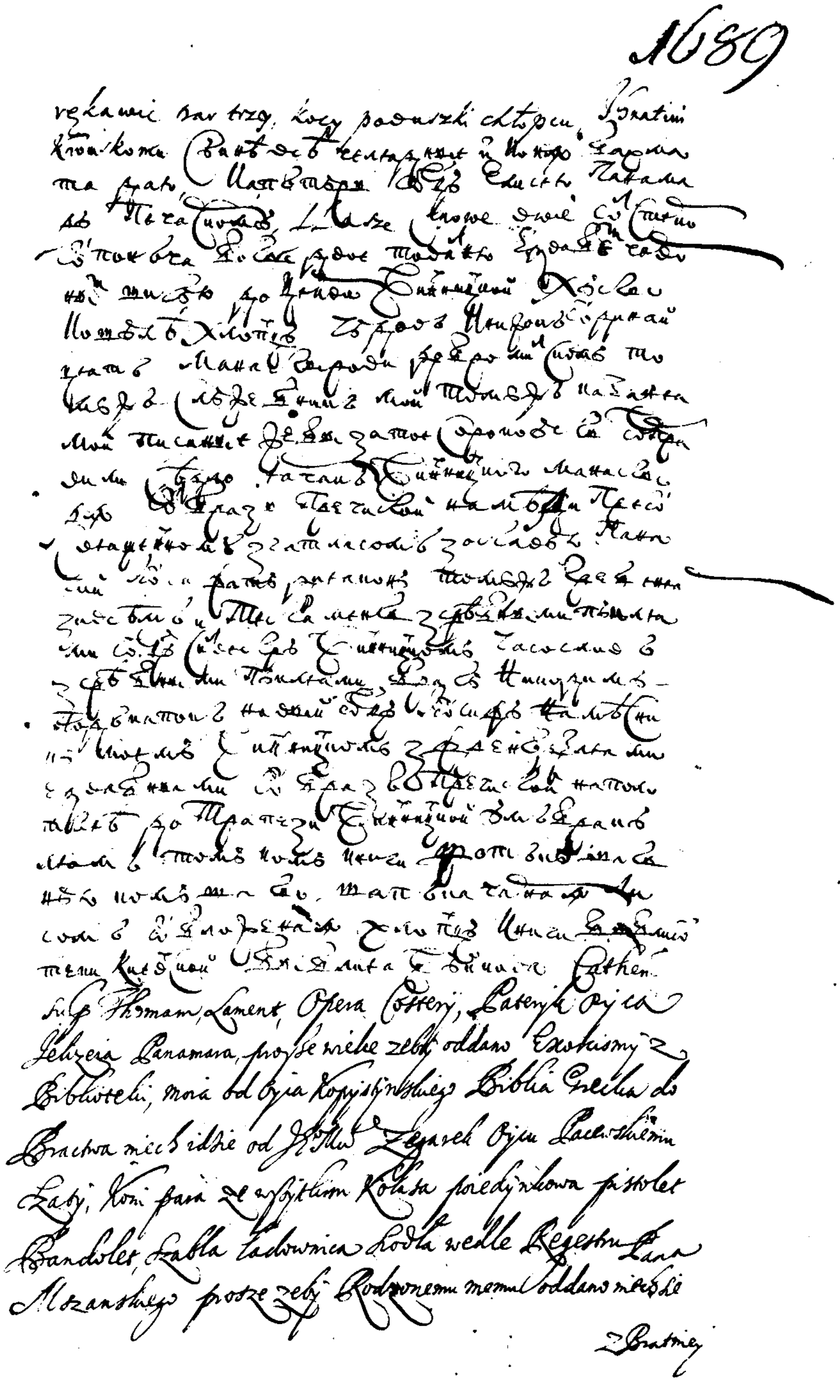
(The Central State Historical Archives of the Ukrainian SSR in Lviv, fond 13, op. 1, no. 372, pp. 1687–1690)



1088

Alciatus, Horatius, Barbonius, Owen Epigrammata, Aphonium theca,
Alea Epigrammata, Corcellanus Libello omnium [illegible] Poetarum in Cinere ne [illegible]-
pelliantur, Επιτομη Chronologiae S. Patris nostri, Nestoris pro recens [illegible]
Pueris dandi, Sc[illegible] [illegible] acta, Alvarez Manuale Concionatorum Con-
ceptus Biccani, Fasciculow dwa ostrznych materiał [illegible], Tabulam Mathematicae
[illegible] seu Cilindro ex aere argento et cupro, item pumicem ad eum[que] polien-
dum et pulverem de cupro, Ceteraque omnia quae eo spectant y te Xiązki, ktora [illegible] u
Wielebnego Oyca [illegible] takze y Cilindrum in ligno horologium w Celli
mojey Precharskiey, y tam co zostaie iako Oyca Dorofeiewicza Arithmetica
Kwadrant, ze do tego Kiiowskiego Bractwa. Co do Pieniędzy tych Dwie-
scie Czerwonych złotych tak disponuie. Dac ich Panom Radnym
Kiiowskim [illegible] takim sposobem yzby oni zaraz w Ziem[skie] ze-
znali, ze winni Domowi memu summy pewney Dwiescie Czerwonych
złotych, a te summe niech wyznaią y Zariadzcą iako ktokolwiek we-
zmie niey zarabia, za Interesse niech trzech Studentow chowa wszyst-
kim w Szkolach [illegible] co potrzebnych Studentowi do stołu, [illegible]
posiłek dac, oprocz [illegible] y [illegible] tylko. Zas a trzey Panowie
Studenci powinni byc albo Zakonnikami, albo Swieckimi Prezbite-
rami y zamnie raz w tydzien w sobote y za Rodakow moich
Liturgizowac. Ostatnie [illegible] Collegium tedy ta summa na Precharski
Monastyr zostac ma. Złotych dwiescie daie na szpital Precharski,
takze aby temi pieniądzmi kto robił a ubogim co rok dawał Interessu zło-
tych dwadziescia, gdy by to ustało ta summa na Monastyr Precharski.
Precharski obrocic, złotych sto na Pogrzeb y Sorokoust moy a
Bratni, złotych Piędziesiąt do Mezyhora na Sorokoust, Zo-
lotych [illegible] złotych [illegible] chłopcu memu
na nauki złotych [illegible], Wasilkowskiemu złotych sto, Winnickie-
mu Monastyrowi kufel srebrny, Czarka takze y [illegible] srebrny
srebrnych, gołąb srebrny, posoch [illegible] hebanowy ze srebrem
dla Ihumena Winnickiemu Monastyrowi zeby tam zostawał
[illegible]
[illegible] rękawy

rękawic



1690

z Bratniey y zas Sestry Dobrodzieia y Passerza
mego zabitego dzielszą Rydwan Wor ze wszystkim
Gotowym Rodzonemu memu, Chomąt Szabla bo to mie Ma:
ią wszystkie temuz Bratu memu Zostaie iesze Guthorasa
złotych 5 ortami Guzow srebrnych 5 odliwanych 18 Trzydziesch
Pultoraków stary 5 cos trocha Denh, to leguie na swiece
do obrazu Przeczystey Panny przedworny zeby cała
noc gorzała dac te pieniądze wpłat za vzywanie tehraz
tło vzywaiący niech 8 kupuie Wimenem Zesi złotych 5
Panu Złotnikowi Pieczarskiemu od robienia gołębia
z pieniędzy roschodnych 5 zapłacie Oyca Metrofana
trzeby iego własne oddac mu za suknie ktorą dałem Sta:
konowi złotych 3 dzieiąc z tych że roschodnych zapłacie ode:
brawszy wiest cerkiewnego professyia v niego prosze
a to zlem ktory derznął a niegodnie, także y v Brata
Wenedikta mnoze professyia iam mu widzi Bog mil:
winien niech sobie na Waiskowskim ktory y teraz nam
z Czernecami Winnichiemi wola dochodzi obelgi swoiey
y temu złotych 5 dzieiące dac z roschodnych 5, Brata Dio:
nisia od wszystkiego wolnym czynię Wasilkowskiemu
Czerwony dołoman, boty safianowe dawno, spalił sługi Pod:
sędkowskie rozkazai y może w Fasikule. Exequutor tego Testamentu
Wielebny Oyciec Isaia Trofimowicz Ihumen Nikolski. Ostatek mieć
tem roz da ktory by P. Boga prosił zamnie a osobliwie Bracey Winnichey
Logiki dwie v Oyca Kononowicza y Physica do Biblioteki. Аще кто
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Мо:
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] рукою власною. [illegible]
[illegible] originale [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
de [illegible] [illegible] quittatur

Actum in [illegible]
F 2

Transcription

Ad Offi‹ci›um Actaq‹ue› p‹ræse›ntia Castren‹sia› Cap‹ita›n‹ea›lia Premislien‹sia› p‹er›s‹o›n‹ali›t‹e›r Veniens Nobilis Gaspar Czerpkowski obtulit et ad actican‹dum› off‹ic›io p‹ræse›nti no‹m›i‹n›e N‹obi›lis Petri Kanofoyski [*sic*] porrexit Literas Testamenti Vltimæ Voluntatis p‹er› olim Kleric‹um› et religiosu‹m› Athanasium Kanofoyski [*sic*] ra‹ti›one infrascr‹ipt›orum confecti, infrascr‹ipt›as partim Russico partim vero Polonico idiomate, exaratas manu Ill‹ust›r‹issi›mi ac R‹ever›end‹issi›mi Patris Petri Mohy–a, Archiepiscopi Metropolitæ Kiiouiensis subscriptas, Petens literas eas‹dem› à se offerente p‹er› officiu‹m› p‹ræse›ns Suscipi et Actis suis inserend‹as› admitti. Cuius affectationi et Juri Com‹m›uni off‹ici›um hoc idem annuend‹o›, Literas testamenti infrascr‹ipt›as Suscepit et Actis p‹ræ›sen‹tibus› inscribend‹as› censuit. Cuius testamenti tenor de verbo ad verbum sequitur estq‹ue› talis:

Во имиа Ѿца и Сына и С‹вѧ›т‹о›го Д‹ȣ›ха аминъ [*sic*]. Тоею сѧ конъдициею родимо, абысмо живши ȣмирали, и Г‹оспо›дȣ Б‹о›гȣ д‹ȣ›шȣ, ѿ которого ею взѧлисмо, поцътиве и христиѧнъско живȣчи, ѿдали. Тȣю и ѧ, з межи грѣшънихъ найгрѣшънѣйший еремонахъ Аѳанасий Калнафойский, тобѣ, Ѿцȣ и Творцȣ моемȣ, ѿдаю. Ѡ, ȣчасти тую, П‹а›не, невымовъным‹ъ› милосердиемъ и стрȣпы ей зъгладь, на Страшьном‹ъ› Сȣдѣ же ѡдеснȣю ею постави, ѧко Б‹о›гъ м‹и›л‹о›ст‹и›вый, со слезами прошȣ.

Позосталые рѣчи церковные, бо тѣ в той набылем‹ъ›, такъ до церкве нехай сѧ навертають. Ciceronis totum opus, Complutenses, Claudianus cum varijs notis et orationum dispositionibus, Wody żywotne, Theoremata mathematica, Seneca philosophus, Pindarus, Virgilius interpretatus, Cornelius Tacitus, Rey, Paulus Aquiliensis seu Eutropius, Plutarchi tomus 2-dus, Grammatica Gretseri, Cornelius, Inquisitio Hispanica, Enomilogia, Diogenes Laertius, Seneca Poeta in Psalmos τῶν παλεοτιπον [*sic*] ποιυτων [*sic*], Horatius, Alciadus, Sarbieuius, Oueni Epigrammata, Aphorismi theca, mea Epigrammata correcturæ subdo omnium fratrum poëtaru‹m› in cinere ne sepeliantur, Єпитоми chronologiæ S‹ancti› Patri nostri Nestoris pro recompositione pueris danda, ut sciant gentis suæ acta, Aluarez Manuale, Concionatoru‹m› conceptus Becani, Fascikułow dwa o rożnych materiach spalić, Tabulam Mathematicae rep‹re›sentationis cu‹m› cilindro ex ære, argento et cupro, item pumicem ad eund‹em› poliendum et puluerem de cupro, cæteraq‹ue› omnia, quæ eo spectant, y tę xiąskę, ktora iest v wielebnego oyca Skuminowicza, takze y cilindrum in ligno, horologium w celli moiey pieczarskiey, y tam co zostaie, iako oyca Dorofiewiczowa Arithmetica, Quadranty ite‹m› do tegoz Kiewskiego bractwa. Co do pieniędzy, tych dwiescie czerwonych złotych, tak disponuie. Dać ich panom radnym kiiowskim v sądu ich takim sposobem, yzby oni zaraz w Ziemstwie zeznali, ze winni domowi memu summy pewney dwiescie czerwonych złotych, a tę summę niech z ramienia y za wiadomoscią ich kto osiadły wezmie, nią zarabia, za interessa niech trzech studentow chowa, wszytką iem wczesnosc czyniąc, co przynalezy studentowi do stołu iesc, oprać, posciel dać, oprocz suknie y vbirania tylko, zaś ci trzey panowie studenci powinni byc lubo zakonnikami, lubo swieckiemi prezbyterami y za mnie raz w tydzien w sobotę y za rodakow moich liturgizować. Vstało li by Collegium, tedy ta summa na Pieczarski Monastyr zostać ma. Złotych dwiescie daię na Szpital Pieczarski, takze aby temi pieniędmi [*sic*] kto robił, a vbogim co rok dawał interessu złotych dwadziescia; gdyby to vstało, ta summa na Monastyr Pieczarski obroci sie, z ktorych sto na pogrzeb y sorokoust moy y bratni, złotych pięcdziesiąt do Mezyhora на сорокоȣсть, золотих‹ъ› десѧть ȣбоствȣ, złotych czterdziesci chłopcu memu na nauki, złotych dziesięc Wasilkowskiemu, złotych sto, Winnickiemu Monastyrowi, kufel

srybrny, czarka takze y łyżek trzy srybrnych, posoch czarny hebanowy ze srybrem dla ihumena Winnickiemu Monastyrowi, zeby tam zostawał. Сукнѣ мой всѣ, килимы два, коберци три томȣжъ манастиреви, kozuch, materac, kłobuki, rękawy, rękawic par trzy, kocy, poduszki chłopcu. Ihnatiiu Kromskomu сȣкнѣ всѣ челѧдные и конѧ бахмата даю. Капътȣрь ѿцу Елисею, панамарȣ печарскомȣ. Flasze cinowe dwie, ѡлстерко, ѡпоньча, боты двое, товалню едвабем‹ъ› червоным‹ъ› шитȣю до церкви Винъницъкой. Хȣсты, кошулѣ хлопъцȣ. Чȣдовъ книжокъ ѡдинайцѧть манастырови Добромилскомȣ. Томȣ жъ служебникъ мой. Томȣ жъ казанѧ мои писаные, жебы за тое сорокоȣстъ ѿправили. Сѣдло ѧрчакъ Винъницъкого манастырѧ. Ѡбразь [*sic*] Пречистой на мѣди преѡ̈свѧщенъномȣ з гатласомъ зоставȣю. Панагий Іѡсафатȣ, диѧконȣ. Томȣ жъ Гребенѧр‹ъ› зо всѣмъ и тестаменть [*sic*] з срѣбными *пȣклѧми ѿцȣ Силвестрȣ винъницъкомȣ*. Часословъ з срѣбными пȣклѧми братȣ Никодимȣ. Подъкапокъ новый ѿцȣ Іѡсифȣ, намѣсникȣ моемȣ винъницъкомȣ. З френъьзлѧми [*sic*] едвабными ѡбразъ Пречистой на полотънѣ до трапези винъницъкой. ȣмбра кȣ лѧмѣ [*sic*] томȣ, комȣ книги. Щотъкȣ шатьнȣю, комȣ шаты. Шапъка чарнаѧ, лисомъ ѡбложенаѧ, хлопъцȣ. Книги быблиѡ̈теки Киевъской Быблиѧ Вуйкова, Cathen‹am› sup‹er ›Thomam, Lament, Opera Costerij, Pateryk Oyca Jelizeia panamara prosze wielce, zeby oddano. Exorcismy z biblioteki, Moia od Oyca Kopystynskiego Biblia grecka do Bractwa niech idzie. Od Ie‹g›o M‹oś›ci zegarek Oycu Pacewskiemu. Szaty, koni para ze wszytkim, kolasa poiedynkowa, pistolet, bandolet, szabla, ładownica, siodła wedle regestru pana Mszanskiego prosze, zeby rodzonemu memu oddano, niech sie z bratniej y zas sczerey Dobrodzieia y Pasterza mego zasługi vciesza. Rydwan, szor ze ze wszytkim gotowy rodzonemu memu. Chomąt, szabla, boc to nie manastyrskie, temuz bratu memu. Zostaie iescze pułtorasta złotych vrtami, guzow srybrnych odliwanych trzydziesci, pułtorakow starych coś, trocha denh. To leguie na swice do obrazu Przeczystey Panny przede wroty, żeby całą noc gorzała. Dać tę [*sic*] pieniądze w płat za vzywanie. Te swiatło vzywaiący niech kupuie. Winienem sześć złotych Panu złotnikowi pieczarskiemu od robienia gołębia—z pieniędzy roschodnych zapłacic. Oyca Metrofana rzeczy iego własne oddać mu. Za suknie, ktorą dałem diakonowi, złotych dziesięc z tychze roschodnych zapłacic odebrawszy, co iest, Cerkiewnego. Prosczenya v niego proszę, a to zem ręką derznuł, a nie godziło sie. Takze y v brata Wenedicta prosze prosczenya. Iam mu, widzi Bog, nie winien. Niech sobie na Waczkowskim, ktory y teraz nan z czerncami winnickiemi woła, dochodzi obelgi swoiey. Y temu złotych dziesięc daie z roschodnych. Brata Dionisia od wszytkiego wolnym czynie. Wasilkowskiemu czerwony dołoman, boty safianowę [*sic*] daruię. Spalic Xiązki podsędkowskie, roskazać y moie w fascikule. Exequutor tego testamentu Wielebny Ociec Isaia Trofimowicz, ihumen Nikolski. Ostatek niech tem rozda, ktorzyby P‹ana› Boga prosili za mnie, a osobliwie braciey winnickiey. Logik dwie v Oyca Kononowicza y Physica do biblioteki.

Дла [*sic*] лѣпшей вѣри самъ подписȣюсѧ до того тестаментȣ Петръ Могила, Архіепископъ, Митрополит‹ъ› кіевский рȣкою власною.

Post quar‹um› literar‹um› ingross‹ation›em originale ear‹um›d‹em› p‹ræ›fato offerenti ab off‹ici›o p‹ræse›nti illico restitutum et de Cu‹iu›s extrad‹iti›one off‹ic›ium p‹ræ›sens quietatur.

Translation

Coming in person to the office and the present files of records of the starost castle of Peremyšl', the nobleman Gaspar Czerpkowski brought and presented for registration by the present office in the name of the nobleman Peter Kal'nojofs'kyj the written testament letter of the last will made by the late cleric and religious Atanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj for the reason which is written below; which letter is expressed partly in the Ruthenian and partly in the Polish idiom and signed by the hand of the Most Illustrious and Reverend Father Peter Mohyla, Archbishop and Metropolitan of Kiev. He was asking that the letter be received by the present office from him who was bringing it and that it be admitted to be inserted into the office's records. Complying with his desire and with the common law, this same office received the written testament letter and decided to inscribe it in the present records. The tenor of this testament follows like this word for word:

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit Amen. We are born with the condition that we have to die after we have lived and to give back to the Lord God the soul which we have received after we have lived honestly and in a Christian spirit. Also I, the most sinful of the sinful, hieromonk Atanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj, am giving it back to You, my Father and Creator. O Lord, I tearfully beseech You, grant it Your ineffable mercy and smoothen its scabs and place it on Your right at the Last Judgment as the merciful God.

The church things left after me should return to the church because I acquired them in it: the whole oeuvre of Cicero; Complutenses;[5] Claudian, with various notes and dispositions for sermons;[6] *The waters of life*;[7] Mathematical theorems; Seneca the philosopher; Pindar; Virgil interpreted; Cornelius Tacitus; Rej; Paul of Aquileia or Eutropius;[8] Plutarch's second volume; Grets[n]er's grammar;[9] Cornelius;[10] Spanish inquisition; Enomilogia;[11] Diogenes Laertius; Seneca the poet; works on Psalms by poets in old imprints; Horace; Alciadus;[12] Sarbievius;[13] Owen's[14] epigrams; a folder of aphorisms; my epigrams which I submit for correction by all the brethren who are poets so that they should not be burnt in cinders; an epitome of the chronology of our holy father Nestor to give a systematic guide to the boys so that they

[5] A work by philosophers and theologians of the Discalced Carmelites' College at Alcala de Henares (Complutum).

[6] Mamertus Claudius, an early doctor of the Church (fl. 468-73).

[7] An unidentified Polish book.

[8] The abridged Roman history by Eutropius continued by Paul the Deacon (of a church in Aquileia).

[9] Jakob Gretsner (1560-1625), *Institutiones linguae Gracecae.*

[10] Cornelius a Lapide (1567-1637), a Jesuit exegete of the Scripture.

[11] ἐνομιλέγω, an incorrect Greek derivation, meaning "the art of preaching (speaking)," from ἐνομιλέω, "I preach, speak."

[12] Unindentified.

[13] Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski.

[14] John Owen (ca. 1560–1622), a British epigrammatist.

might know the deeds of their nation; the manual of Alvarez;[15] Becan's compilation for debaters;[16] two fascicles on various matters should be burnt; a board for mathematical demonstration with a cylinder made of brass, silver, and copper as well as a pumice to polish it and copper powder, as well as all the other things that belong there; and the book which the Reverend Father Skumynovyč holds; also the cylinder made of wood; the horologe in my Caves Monastery cell and what remains there, such as the arithmetics of Father Dorofijevyč[17] as well as the quadrants, should [all] go to the same Kiev Brotherhood.

As for money, I dispose of two hundred ducats in the following way: they should be given in court to the city councillors of Kiev so that they make a statement right there, in the land court, that they owe my household the fixed sum of two hundred ducats. This sum should be taken, on their behalf and with their knowledge, by a permanent resident. This person should support three students on the interest income from this money, providing all the amenities which are due to students, that is, board, laundry, bed linen, with the exception of robes and clothes. Those three students should be either monks or secular presbyters and should say the liturgy for me and for my relatives once a week, on Saturday. Should the collegium cease to exist, this sum should remain for the Caves Monastery.

I give two hundred zlotys to the Caves Monastery hospital. This money should also be put to work by someone. Such a person should give twenty zlotys interest to the poor every year. Should this end, this sum should be turned over to the Caves Monastery. From that sum, one hundred zlotys should be spent for my and my brother's funerals and fortieth-day memorial services; fifty zlotys for the fortieth-day memorial service in the Mežyhir'ja Monastery; ten zlotys for the poor; and forty zlotys for my servant boy's studies. Ten zlotys should be given to Vasyl'kovs'kyj and one hundred zlotya to the Monastery of Vinnycja.

The silver tankard, cup, three silver spoons, and black ebony staff with silver should remain in the Monastery of Vinnycja for its hegumen. All my cassocks, two bed carpets, three floor carpets are for the same monastery. The sheepskin coat, mattress, hats, muffs, three pairs of gloves, blankets, pillows are for my servant boy. I give all the work clothes and the Tatar horse to Ihnatij Kroms'kyj, and the hood to Father Jelysej, the paramonarios[18] of the Caves Monastery. Two tin flasks, the flask folder, the cloak, two [pairs of] boots, the towel embroidered in red silk should go to the Vinnycja Church. The kerchiefs and shirts are for the servant boy. Eleven books on miracles are for the Monastery of Dobromyl', as are my liturgiarion and my written sermons so that my fortieth-day memorial service may be performed there. The light Tatar saddle belongs to the Monastery of Vinnycja. I leave the image of the Most Pure Mother of God on copper with satin to His Eminence [Mohyla]. The

15 Jacob (Diego) Alvarez de Paz (1560-1620), a Jesuit author of a manual for preachers.

16 Martin Becan (1563-1624), a Jesuit author of a manual on religious controversies.

17 Havrylo Dorofijevyč (Doroftejevyč).

18 A kind of sacristan responsible for ringing the bell, participating in the choir and rendering general services during liturgy.

Panagia[19] is for Deacon Josafat, as is the comb folder with everything there. The Testament with silver buckles is for Father Syl'vester of Vinnycja. The horologion with silver buckles is for Brother Nykodym. The new skull cap is for Father Josyf, my vicar in Vinnycja. The image of the Most Pure Mother of God on linen fringed with silk is for the refectory of the Vinnycja Monastery. The lamp shade is for the one to whom the books go. The garment brush is for the one to whom the garments go. The black hat edged with fox is for the servant boy.

The books that belong to the Kiev library are: Wujek's Bible; Catena based on Thomas;[20] Lamentation; Coster's works;[21] the Paterikon of Father Jelysej, the paramonarios. I ask very much that these be returned. The Exorcisms are from the library. My Greek Bible from Father Kopystens'kyj should go to the Brotherhood.

The watch from His Grace [Mohyla] should be for Father Pacevs'kyj. I ask that the garments, the pair of horses with everything, the single carriage, the pistol, the shoulder belt, the sabre, the cartridge pouch, the saddles according to Mr. Mšans'kyj's register be given to my own brother; let him enjoy all this, thanks to his brother and to the sincere favors of my benefactor and shepherd [Mohyla]. The large coach, the harness ready with everything are for my own brother. The horse collar and the sabre are for this same brother of mine because these do not belong to the monastery after all.

What remains is 150 zlotys in quarters, thirty cast silver buttons, some old one-and-a-half groschen coins, and a few Muscovite small coins. I bequeath these for candles for the image of the Most Pure Virgin before the gate so that it be lit up all night. This money should be loaned on interest for the use of the money, and let the borrower of the money pay for this illumination.

I owe six zlotys to the goldsmith of the Caves Monastery for making a dove. He should be paid with the money for current expenses. Father Mytrofan's own things should be returned to him. Ten zlotys of this same money for current expenses should be paid for the cassock which I gave to the deacon, after withdrawing what belongs to the church. I ask for his forgiveness because I dared to raise my hand against him, which was improper.

I also ask Brother Venedykt for forgiveness. God can see that I was not guilty of what happened to him. He should seek vindication for his insult from Vačkovs'kyj, who even now is calling him names, together with [some] monks from Vinnycja. I also give him ten zlotys from the money for current expenses.

I free Brother Dionysij of everything. I donate the red dolman and saffian boots to Vasyl'kovs'kyj. The deputy judge books and my own in a fascicle should be ordered to be burnt. The executor of this testament is the Reverend Father Isaja Trofymovyč, hegumen of St. Nicholas Monastery. He should give away the rest to

19 A box for prosphora (liturgical bread) with the image of the All-Holy (Panagia) Mother of God and other images.

20 *Catena Aurea* (Golden chain), a collection of excerpts from some eighty Greek and Latin commentators on the Gospels, compiled by Thomas Aquinas.

21 Francis Coster (1532-1619), a Jesuit theologian.

those who might entreat the Lord God on my behalf, especially the Vinnycja brethren.

Two books on logic are with Father Kononovyč; [the one on] physics should go to the library.

I personally add my signature to this testament for better credibility—

Peter Mohyla, Bishop and Metropolitan of Kiev, in my own hand.

After the letter was entered, its original was returned to the said person who brought it and the present office approves its return.

Translated by Bohdan Strumiński

REVIEW ARTICLE

What Makes a Translation Bad? Gripes of an End User

DONALD OSTROWSKI

THE NIKONIAN CHRONICLE. Edited, introduced, and annotated by *Serge A. Zenkovsky*. Trans. by *Serge A. Zenkovsky* and *Betty Jean Zenkovsky*. Vol. 1: *FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE YEAR 1132*, Princeton: Kingston Press, 1984; Vol. 2: *FROM THE YEAR 1132–1240*, Princeton: Kingston Press, 1984; Vol. 3: *FROM THE YEAR 1241 TO THE YEAR 1381*, Princeton: Kingston Press, 1986; Vol. 4: *FROM THE YEAR 1382 TO THE YEAR 1425*, Princeton: Kingston Press/Darwin Press, 1988; Vol. 5: *FROM THE YEAR 1425 TO THE YEAR 1520*, Princeton: Darwin Press, 1989.

Serge A. Zenkovsky, a prominent scholar in early East Slavic historical studies, was born in Kiev of Russian parents and died on 31 March 1990, at the age of 82. He left as his legacy, besides several monographs, a relatively large number of translations from Rus'ian into English.[1] His last major enterprise, which he undertook with his wife Betty Jean Zenkovsky, was a monumental translation of the Nikon Chronicle. The result is the five-volume work under review.

One would expect that such a major contribution and increase in the amount of Rus'ian material translated into English would be welcomed by the English-speaking scholarly community. As instructors, we are, after all, always looking for materials that can be used for introductory courses in early East Slavic history.[2]

[1] See, e.g., the obituary written by Ralph T. Fisher in *Russian Review* 50 (1991): 121–23.

[2] At this point the question might be raised what is the market for such a translation. Certainly very few teachers, if any, are going to assign all five volumes of *The Nikonian Chronicle* (abbreviated *NC* hereafter) as required reading. Yet there are various pedagogical uses for a work of this type: it might be useful to have students compare volume one with the translated version of the *Povest' vremennykh let* to see what was added and deleted by the Muscovite chroniclers, and use those differences to speculate why. Volumes two through four could be used in conjunction with the translated version of the Novgorod I Chronicle to see how a Muscovite compiler dealt with some of the same topics as a Novgorod compiler. And volume five contains much chronicle information never translated into English before. In addition, specialists in other fields from the ninth through the sixteenth centuries might find the Nikon Chronicle useful for comparison with their own topics.

Instead, the review literature indicates a rather chilly and negative reception to this translation of the Nikon Chronicle. Why? What are the criticisms? Is the chilly reception deserved? And, if so, can we learn from the criticisms to produce better translations, especially those that are on a similarly large scale?

First, let us take at look at the review literature. I will be using seven reviews of the Zenkovskys' translation. These include reviews of volume 1 by Michael S. Flier[3] and by Daniel Clarke Waugh,[4] a review of volume 2 by Ellen S. Hurwitz,[5] reviews of volumes 1 through 3 by Walter K. Hanak[6] and by Thomas S. Noonan,[7] a review of volumes 2 through 5 by Norman W. Ingham,[8] and a review of volume 5 by Nancy Shields Kollmann.[9]

None of the reviewers questioned the need for a translation of the Nikon Chronicle. Instead, five of the seven reviewers clearly commend the project itself: "a welcome addition" (Flier, p. 342); "will be of considerable use" (Hurwitz); "most welcome" (Hanak, p. 246); "a major addition" (Noonan, p. 205); and "well worth translating" (Ingham, p. 274). Yet, all reviewers expressed serious reservations about the execution of the project: "more slips and typographical errors than one might have expected" (Flier, p. 341); "the translation is not sufficiently reliable" (Waugh, p. 316); "the editor's historiographical overview is both superficial and outmoded" (Hurwitz); "many historians. . . will have to question the scholarly merits of these volumes" (Hanak, p. 246); the "historical commentary ignores many key issues" (Noonan, p. 203); "some of the prose is not quite English" (Ingham, p. 274); and "this project already demands re-editing" (Shields Kollmann, p. 435). If we look at each of the reviews in turn, we may be able to get a better understanding of what, specifically, the reviewers found so objectionable in the volumes reviewed.

Of the reviewers, Michael Flier finds the most to praise. He calls Zenkovsky "wise" for discussing in his introduction some of the problems of chronicle chronology. Flier writes that volume one "is heavily annotated with useful commentary" and that the Zenkovskys provide "alternate readings or additions from other manuscripts." (This latter practice, however, is criticized by Waugh.) Flier commends the citing of biblical references and the interpolating of titles of entries for easier reading. He also spot-checked twenty-five entries and concludes that they show "a quite competent job of translation." Finally, Flier terms the translation a "fluent" one "that does not stray too far from the flavor and intent of the original" (Flier, p. 342). However, he does question a number of editorial decisions involving

[3] Michael S. Flier, review of *NC* (vol. 1), *Slavic and East European Journal* 29 (1985): 340–42.

[4] Daniel Clarke Waugh, review of *NC* (vol. 1), *Slavic Review* 44 (1985): 316–17.

[5] Ellen S. Hurwitz, review of *NC* (vol. 2), *Slavic Review* 45 (1986): 111.

[6] Walter K. Hanak, review of *NC* (vols. 1–3), *Speculum* 63 (1988): 246–48.

[7] Thomas S. Noonan, review of *NC* (vols. 1–3), *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 23 (1989): 203–5.

[8] Norman W. Ingham, review of *NC* (vols. 2–5), *Slavic and East European Journal* 35 (1991): 274–75.

[9] Nancy Shields Kollmann, review of *NC* (vol. 5), *Slavic Review* 50 (1991): 435–36.

the translation. He notes that the Zenkovskys did not translate all the text, that they excluded "certain stories and theological discussions of Byzantine or South Slavic origin with no information on Russia *per se*." He goes on to point out that "there is no indication of where such excisions have occurred in the text; thus the nonspecialist, without recourse to verification of the original, is at the mercy of editorial discretion" (Flier, p. 341).[10] Zenkovsky must have taken Flier's criticism to heart because, as of the fourth volume, he began to indicate where he was excluding text from the translation. Flier goes on to point out some inconsistencies in the rendering of proper names, a number of apparent typographical errors, as well as errors of information, and the infelicitous pluralizing of the names of certain Rus' tribes: the Krivichs, Polovetss, and Ants (instead of Krivichi, Polovtsi, and Antes).

In contrast to Flier's relatively positive review, Waugh's is the most unrelentingly negative of the seven. Waugh criticizes Zenkovsky as editor for not understanding "the difference between *text* and *copy* and the necessity for establishing clearly which text he is translating" (Waugh, p. 316). Waugh refers to the introduction as being "quite muddled" and finds some of the statements "alarming," such as that Zenkovsky would substitute from a secondary redaction of the *Nikon Chronicle*, the *Litsevoi svod*, when "it was more detailed and seemed historically more interesting than the corresponding" earliest manuscripts.[11] If these were the criteria for substituting text to translate, then this editorial policy should indeed be questioned (I will discuss this problem at greater length below).

In addition, Waugh also found alarming Zenkovsky's statement that "for easier identification of persons and sites, such supplemental words as 'prince,' 'voevoda,' 'river,' or 'city' have been added, sometimes in brackets."[12] I agree with Waugh that the word "sometimes" is problematic. What were the criteria for deciding when to put supplemental words in brackets and when not to? Preferable, of course, is to put any and all supplemental words in brackets, clearly indicating an editorial interpolation. Less acceptable, but at least consistent, would be to avoid brackets altogether for such supplemental words. An examination of the first three volumes reveals that, despite the apparent inconsistency, the editorial policy is followed in that all supplemental words, not just those to help in identifying persons and sites, are indeed *sometimes* put in brackets. In the fifth volume, Zenkovsky apparently reconsidered this policy because, in the introduction to that volume, he writes that the editorial addition of any word "was always put into brackets."[13] But the practice seems to have changed already with the fourth volume where additional words are more systematically placed in brackets.

Even when Zenkovsky does indicate "corrections," "improvements," and other changes, Waugh finds that the changes "are indicated too vaguely" and some "really cannot be justified." Waugh finds the Zenkovskys' translation to be from "a

[10] There is at least one instance in volume one where Zenkovsky notes the omission of text, a narrative discussion of Islam under the entry for 991. *NC*, 1:110 (fn. 100).

[11] *NC*, 1:xxvii.

[12] *NC*, 1:xlv.

[13] *NC*, 5:ix.

twentieth-century version" of the Nikon Chronicle, "not [from] a sixteenth-century text that really existed" (Waugh, p. 316). After pointing out a number of "careless omissions" and "outright errors," he goes on to criticize the editorial annotations. While acknowledging that it may not be practical, from a publishing point of view, for a five-volume translation to have a "really detailed commentary," nonetheless he thinks "the reader needs a more systematic treatment of the unique features of the text. . ." (Waugh, p. 317). He does compliment Zenkovsky's discussion ("as far as it goes") of the different dating systems used in chronicles and Zenkovsky's pointing out in the footnotes when the Nikon Chronicle contains information not found in other chronicles that generally have the same material. On the other hand, Waugh states that "some of the notes are simply wrong" and finds Zenkovsky's discussion of the relationship of the Nikon Chronicle to the *Povest' vremennykh let* to be misleading. He criticizes Zenkovsky's use of the word "abbreviated" to describe certain sections of the *Povest' vremennykh let* that it has in common with the Nikon Chronicle, because it implies that the *Povest' vremennykh let* is secondary.[14] Waugh finds the foreword to volume one to be "quirky." He also questions a number of Zenkovsky's assertions: the theory that the first bishops of Rus' were Bulgarian, that Riurik was mythical while Askol'd and Dir were not, and the use of "Russia" and "Russian" to translate Рус˜ and рус˜скии. Finally, Waugh points out that the footnotes are repetitive.

While Waugh provides a relatively large number of specific complaints and criticisms about volume one in his review, Ellen Hurwitz makes only some general comments in her review of volume two. Besides pointing to the editor's outmoded historical views, Hurwitz criticizes the "stylistic inconsistencies and innumerable typographical errors." While acknowledging the inclusion of "an arbitrarily selected glossary of Russian and Byzantine terminology," as well as the genealogical tables, she decries the lack of maps, indexes, bibliographies, and "appropriate ancillary materials." It should be noted, however, that, as of this writing, Betty Jean Zenkovsky is reported to be compiling a cumulative index to all five volumes.

Both Waugh and Hurwitz, being historians, find problems with the historical interpretation Zenkovsky places on the material, as does another historian, Walter Hanak. But Hanak's review tends to be a little more favorable than those of either of the other two historians. He states that Zenkovsky's "literary expertise is as well complemented by a historical awareness which lends greater substance to this work," but remarks on "the absence of any historical consideration of specific issues

[14] Zenkovsky's use of "abbreviated" seems to be more than semantic sloppiness. Apparently, it reflects Zenkovsky's opinion that the Nikon Chronicle more closely represents an earlier source text that it shares with the *Povest' vremennykh let*. This is the only way to understand his description of the absence in the Nikon Chronicle of Ihor's attack on Constantinople in 941–944. Zenkovsky seems to think the redactor of the *Povest' vremennykh let* added to the text of their common ancestor from the Chronicle of Harmotolus, the Life of Basil, and the oral tradition while the redactor of the Nikon Chronicle did not. Thus, the twelfth-century *Povest' vremennykh let* is implicitly presented as secondary in relation to the sixteenth-century Nikon Chronicle. *NC*, 1:52 (fn. 40).

in the prefaces and introductions" (Hanak, p. 246). He thinks that Zenkovsky's introduction to volume one, in which he discusses the history of the chronicle, "will be of value to the non-Russian reader." Hanak also agrees with Zenkovsky's statement that the Nikon Chronicle and the *Povest' vremennykh let* "reflect the mentalities, political situation and cultural environment of their times."[15] However, he questions Zenkovsky's use of the phrase "original up to 1520" in describing the Nikon Chronicle's contents. Hanak also finds the editorial decision to translate only that part of the Chronicle that Zenkovsky considers "Russian" to be "perhaps unwise." He points out that the organization of the prefatory material in each of the three volumes differs: for example, volumes one and two have forewords, but volume three does not; volumes one and three have introductions, but volume two does not. (Volumes four and five, like volume three, have introductions, but no forewords.)[16] He also finds the prefatory material to volumes two and three to be "excessively repetitive" (Hanak, p. 247).

After challenging Zenkovsky's views on the early conversion of Kievan Rus', Hanak, like Waugh, questions Zenkovsky's invoking of the outdated theory that Kiev came under the control of the archbishop of Ohrid immediately after the conversion of 988. He goes on to suggest that Zenkovsky's "comments upon the texts in volumes 2 and 3 also require scrutiny" (Hanak, p. 248). While Hanak thinks that, in the foreword to volume two, Zenkovsky "develops well the theme of the steady political and economic decline of Kiev," he finds "his stress upon climatic changes. . . is an overextension of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century historiographical arguments and an oversimplification of the problems confronting the rulers in Kiev" (Hanak, p. 248). The introduction to volume three Hanak characterizes as "overly sympathetic to the plight of the Rus' under the Mongol yoke" and suggests that the issue requires "a more balanced approach" (Hanak, p. 248). He calls the translation a "high quality" one, but finds it "[t]roublesome" that sections have been deleted from the translation. He also remarks that there is a lack of "sufficient annotations" in the first three volumes, with volume one having the most and volume three having the least.[17] Nonetheless, he recommends the translation highly "for the non-Russian expert," but not "for the Old Church Slavic and Russian reader" (Hanak, p. 248).

15 *NC*, 1:xiv.

16 Another unexplained difference between the volumes is the footnote numbering systems. In volume one, footnote numbers increment until the end of a century, when they begin over again at 1. Thus, from the beginning of the text to the end of the ninth century, footnote numbers increment from 1 to 125; between the years 903 and 999, they increment from 1 to 120; and so forth. In volumes two, three, and four, the footnote numbers increment from 1 to 100, then begin over again at 1 regardless of the year. In the fifth volume, the footnote numbers increment continuously throughout the volume from 1 to 400.

17 A statistical analysis of all five volumes bears out Hanak's impression. Volume 1 has 487 notes for 255 pages of text, an average of 1.91 notes per page. Volume 2 has 575 notes for 323 pages of text, an average of 1.78. Volume 3 has 345 notes for 305 pages of text, an average of 1.13. Volume 4 has 283 notes for 223 pages of text, an average of 1.27. Volume 5 has 400 notes for 325 pages of text, an average of 1.23.

This last comment of Hanak's would seem to sum up his general evaluation, that is, the Zenkovskys' translation of the Nikon Chronicle is recommended for those not knowledgeable about the field, whereas those who are knowledgeable will not find it useful. One wonders, if the translation, annotations, introductions, and so forth are so flawed, then how helpful can all this be "for the non-Russian expert." If the translation does indeed purvey such false information, then will experts in other fields not be misled by its contents?

Thomas Noonan, in his review, has both very positive and very negative assessments of this work. Noonan compliments the Zenkovskys for "successfully communicat[ing] the spirit and meaning of the original into good English" (Noonan, p. 203). Noonan also commends the "condensation of the original text" and predicts that "the overwhelming majority of readers... will be delighted to have been spared the necessity of ploughing through endless excerpts from Byzantine or South Slavic sources which have no real pertinence for Rus' history" (Noonan, p. 203). However, he points to "certain features" that "could be improved significantly." For example, Noonan says that, in the introduction to volume one, the "discussion of the origins of the Rus' state is clearly inadequate" (Noonan, p. 203). In addition, "there is *no* discussion of the period between Vladimir's conversion and 1132," the last year translated in volume one. In the introduction to volume two, which begins with the year 1133, there "[i]nexplicably" appears Zenkovsky's discussion of the period from 1054 to 1132. After pointing to a number of errors of fact and interpretation in the historical commentaries of the the first two volumes, Noonan mentions some serious omissions in the historical commentary to the third volume as well:

> Zenkovsky provides absolutely no background for the rise of Moscow to a position of predominance within the Rus' lands, for Novgorod's unique place in Rus', for the other Rus' principalities such as Tver' which rivalled Moscow for the supremacy in Rus', for the rise of Lithuania, for the remarkable expansion of monasticism, or for the blossoming of icon painting. Regrettably, those who desire some historical background in these volumes will find only a distorted and abbreviated account which completely ignores some of the fundamental developments of the period (Noonan, p. 204).

He concludes that Zenkovsky's commentary "has failed... to come close" to the standards of the commentary by Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor found in their English translation of the *Rus' Primary Chronicle*.[18] Noonan also faults Zenkovsky's apparent unfamiliarity with Western historical literature and his being "seemingly unaware of the many first-rate specialists on all aspects of medieval Rus' history who reside in Western Europe and North America" (Noonan, p. 204). Maps, a stemma for the relationship of the copies of the Nikon Chronicle, as well as using "Rus'" instead of "Russian," according to Noonan, would have improved these volumes. After providing a number of specific examples that demonstrate the biased and questionable nature of the editor's comments, Noonan goes on to discuss the issue of the unique information found in the Nikon Chronicle.

[18] See Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text* (Cambridge, MA, 1953), pp. 220–87.

I will return to this point further on.

Norman Ingham also finds much to commend and much to condemn in these volumes. He points out that the text from which the Zenkovskys translate is "a composite" in that their base copy, the Obolenskii, is supplemented "with selected passages from other manuscript sources," while at the same time it omits "a few items they considered extraneous to Russian history." But Ingham thinks this is acceptable because "they are careful to indicate in notes where and how they have diverged from their basic source" (Ingham, p. 274). Ingham finds Zenkovsky's footnotes to be "helpful in calling attention to factual errors and to legends that have crept in, often from epic folklore" and commends Zenkovsky's addition of "helpful bracketed titles" for individual narratives (Ingham, p. 274). Then Ingham points to Zenkovsky's rather remarkable statement in the preface to volume five: "Regrettably, the first three volumes of the first edition contain errata of a typographical nature, which were brought to the attention of the proofreader and were not the responsibility of the Editor" (*NC*, 5:xi). Usually, it is the responsibility of the proofreader to point out errors and the responsibility of the editor to make sure the errors are corrected. In the prefaces to volumes three and four, Zenkovsky acknowledges that as editor he bears responsibility for all errors. Is he saying here that he gave his approval to a final version he did not see? This statement comes across as a shabby attempt to blame an anonymous proofreader for the failure to carry out a task that was indeed a responsibility that traditionally belongs to the editor.

Although Ingham finds the translation "to be consistently dependable and readable," he does point to some "inaccuracies and infelicities" (Ingham, p. 274), as well as the "inconsistencies in the handling [especially spelling] of Greek and Russian names" (Ingham, p. 275). Ingham concedes that the repetition of information in the prefaces to each volume is unavoidable "inasmuch as the reader may have only one volume to hand at a time." Although Ingham believes that "the introductions offer an adequate brief background to each period," he finds the explanation of the Kievan succession system to be "muddled," the degree of isolation attributed to Rus' under the Mongols to be "undoubtedly exaggerated," and the description of the Novgorod-Moscow heresy to be "too cursory" (Ingham, p. 275). He also finds that many of the terms in the glossaries are given "incomplete and imprecise definitions," which are not as good as those in the footnotes. Ingham dismisses Zenkovsky's claim that these volumes constitute a "critical edition" by pointing out that there is more to a critical edition than annotating one's own translation.

Furthermore, Ingham points to what he calls "an old-fashioned insensitivity to ethnic identifications" on Zenkovsky's part. He is particularly critical of the introduction to volume three, in which, he says, Zenkovsky "puts up a gratuitous defense of the racial purity of Russians, in whose veins there is asserted to flow 'practically no Asian blood.'" Ingham finds this assertion to be "astonishing as on the same page he [Zenkovsky] mentions that the Tatars took Russian women as concubines" (Ingham, p. 275). One could also factor in the numerous marriages between Rus' princes and Tatar princesses.

Nancy Shields Kollmann, in her review of volume 5, calls the entire publication "very problematic." After pointing out that the text being translated "is not precisely the 'Nikon Chronicle'" (because of Zenkovsky's editorial decisions, such as the inclusion of about ten pages from the Ioasaf Chronicle), she evaluates the translation itself and finds it "wanting." Shields Kollmann states that "[i]naccuracies abound," then provides several egregious examples of mistranslation. She adds that "[s]entences, words, and clauses are left out. Brackets are not used consistently: Zenkovsky's explanatory glosses are frequently not bracketed, while other bracketed items should not be" (Shields Kollmann, p. 435). She goes on to question other aspects of the translation: the practice of transliterating Polish, Lithuanian, and Belorussian proper names into Russian; "the unfortunate use of 'Russia' for 'Rus''"; the omission of individuals and the inexactness of dates in the genealogical charts; and the repetitiveness of the footnotes.

The main thrust of Shields Kollmann's review is to raise the issue of whether the goal of the project, that is to translate and annotate a sixteenth-century chronicle that "reflect[s] the mentalities, political situation and cultural environment of... [its] times," would not have succeeded better if Zenkovsky had chosen to translate and to annotate a "shorter source with a more straightforward ideological bent." Her point is that, if the goal is to show "how the sixteenth[-]century compiler selected and shaped history to create a 'usable past,'" then that goal is "overwhelmed" by the "gargantuan task" of providing sufficient historical commentary for a multi-volume text (Shields Kollmann, p. 435). And, as I will argue below, abridging the text merely compounds the problem.

We can divide the reviewers' comments into two broad categories: those dealing with ancillary matters such as introductions, commentary, maps, indexes, bibliography, etc., and those concerning the translation itself, such as translation of particular words and phrases as well as what text is being translated. The reviewers do make a number of second-category, that is purely translated-related, criticisms. Flier questions the plural forms of some tribal names and Ingham points to infelicities in English style. Waugh calls the translation itself "unreliable," but this criticism seems to be connected with the question of what text Zenkovsky chose to translate. Most critical among the reviewers of the translation itself are Shields Kollmann's comments. Finally, Waugh, Noonan, Ingham, and Shields Kollmann do question the use of the terms "Russia," "Russian," and "Russians." Otherwise, the reviewers devote their harshest criticisms to first-category, that is ancillary, matters.

I concur with Waugh that the introductions are "muddled" and often plainly misleading. For example, Hanak wished Zenkovsky had described what he meant by the Nikon Chronicle's being "original up to 1520." But that entire discussion is even more of a problem than Hanak indicates. According to the lists of abbreviations, "*Obol.*" refers to the Obolenskii manuscript of the Nikon Chronicle and "*Nik.*" refers to the Nikon Chronicle itself as published in volumes 9 to 13 of the *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*. However, in the following passage, *Obol.* and *Nik.* seem to be used interchangeably:

The first part of *Obol.* [fols. 1–939] was written in the offices of the Metropolitan of Moscow in the late 1520's and very early 1530's, and it is the earliest and original *ms.* text of the *Nikonian Chronicle.*

The second part of *Nik.*, Folios 940–1166, containing entries for the years 1521–1556, is considerably shorter than the first. It is not an original work, as is the text of the first part, and it was written in the 1550s in the government offices. To a large extent it follows the text for the same years of the so-called *Patriarshaia Letopis'* (hereinafter abbreviated, '*Patr.*').[19]

What confuses matters further is that volumes 9 to 13 of *PSRL* are entitled the *Patriarshaia ili Nikonovskaia letopis'* (the Patriarchal or Nikon Chronicle). If the Obolenskii manuscript is being used synonymously with the Nikon Chronicle, then it could prove very confusing to readers when the Patriarchal Chronicle is not used synonymously with the Nikon Chronicle. And Zenkovsky's description of the Patriarchal Chronicle continues the confusion:

It is 875 folios *in toto*, beginning with a list of the Russian metropolitans and bishops. The next folios, 44–731, reproduce the text of *Nik.* very exactly, up to the year 1520. Thus, *Nik.* is original up to 1520 and then adheres largely to *Patr.*, while *Patr.* follows *Nik.* to the year 1520 and is original for the years 1520–1566.

Albeit, as regards the years 1520–1541, *Nik.* differs from *Patr.* in that it follows the text of the so-called *Voskresenskaia Letopis'*,. . . which *Patr.* follows only for the years 1520–1533.[20]

Even when readers come to realize that on this page Zenkovsky is using the abbreviation *Nik.* to mean *Obol.*, they may still have difficulty because of the undefined use of the term "original." This confusion of what it means for a chronicle to be "original up to 1520" is further compounded when readers subsequently come to the following statement:

Another important source for the writing of *Nik.* was *Ioasafovskaia letopis'* (further abbreviated, *Ioasaf.*), which was discovered by Shakhmatov and named after its sixteenth-century owner, Metropolitan Ioasaf. *Ioasaf.* covers the years 1437 to 1520. Beginning with the year 1454, *Nik.* follows almost the entire *Ioasaf.* text.[21]

If the Nikon Chronicle follows the Ioasaf Chronicle from 1454 to 1520, then in what sense can the Nikon Chronicle (or even one of its manuscript copies) be called "original up to 1520"? In what sense is the Patriarchal Chronicle "original for the years 1520–1566" when "it follows the text" of another chronicle from 1520–1533? How useful, then, can all this be for those unfamiliar with chronicle studies?

In addition, even experts in the field may be taken in by some of Zenkovsky's hyperbole and misstatements in his introductions. Hanak remarked on the anti-Mongol bias that Zenkovsky exhibits in his introduction to volume three. An example of how Zenkovsky's bias leads him to misstate the case can be found in his

19 *NC*, 1:xxii.
20 *NC*, 1:xxii.
21 *NC*, 1:xxxi–xxxii. See also *NC*, 5:ix, where he states that the Ioasaf Chronicle "is the only published part of the prototype of *Obol.*" and further that "the *Ioasaf. Chronicle* is entirely similar for the years 1453–54 to 1520 to the same years in *Obol.*; and for the years 1437 to 1453–54, the two chronicles have many entries in common."

discussion of the destruction the Mongols visited upon Rus' cities during the invasion of 1237–1241. Zenkovsky writes: "According to reports of eyewitnesses, mostly incidental Western travellers, there remained in Kiev just some dozen households. . . ."[22] One easily obtains the impression that there are in existence quite a few eyewitness accounts of Kiev after the sack of 1240 and that many of these—in fact most—are by Westerners travelling through Kiev at the time. The truth of the matter is we do not have *many* sources describing Kiev at the time; we have only one. And that source reports 200 houses in Kiev, not "some dozen." Even that source may be suspect because the passage in question might not have been written by an eyewitness.[23] In other words, we might have no extant eyewitness description of Kiev after the sack of 1240. Yet an unsuspecting scholar could come across Zenkovsky's statement, think it authoritative, and inadvertently spread the error. This is one of the ways historiographical ghosts are created and perpetuated.[24] Although each volume has a list of bibliographical abbreviations, too rarely do we find bibliographical references in the footnotes, particularly in regard to interpretations that differ from those of the editor. Also I find myself concurring with those reviewers who criticize the repetition of information[25] and the purveyance of wrong or questionable information[26] in the footnotes. But I must add to the *cahier de*

22 *NC*, 3:xx.

23 In the first redaction of John of Plano Carpini's *Ystoria Mongalorum*, no description of Kiev appears. In the second redaction, however, Kiev is described as having been reduced to 200 houses. Fr. Iohannes de Plano Carpini, "Ystoria Mongalorum," in *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 1: *Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. P. Anastasius van den Wyngaert (Florence, 1929), chap. 5, ¶27. Elsewhere, I have questioned whether Carpini was the author of this interpolation in the second redaction. See my "Why Did the Metropolitan Move from Kiev to Vladimir in the Thirteenth Century?" *California Slavic Studies* (forthcoming). For a discussion of other interpolations in Carpini's text, see my "Second-Redaction Additions in Carpini's *Ystoria Mongalorum*," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 14 (1990): 522–550.

24 On the concept of the historiographical ghost, see Ia. S. Lur'e, "Problems of Source Criticism (with reference to Medieval Russian Documents)," trans. Michael Cherniavsky, *Slavic Review* 27 (1968): 21.

25 See, e.g., *NC*, 1:172 (fn. 102), which repeats the information found in 1:152 (fn. 72); see also 2:51 (fn. 2), which repeats the information found in 2:41 (fn. 89), 2:20 (fn. 44), and 2:16 (fn. 33); see also 2:161 (fn. 97), which repeats the information found in 2:150 (fn. 76); see also 3:83 (fn. 3), which repeats the information found in 3:35 (fn. 50).

26 For example, it is questionable to state that Riurik was "legendary" (1:16 [fn. 49]) when he has been identified with Rorik of Jutland in Western sources. See, e.g., N. T. Beliaev, "Rorik Iutlandskii i Riurik Nachal'noi Letopisi," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 3 (1929). Romanos, the son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, was not born in 957 (*NC*, 1:53); he had already been raised to the rank of co-ruler in 945. Both the names "Nevrod" (as Nimrod) and "Eber" do, in fact, appear in Genesis, contrary to the statement in *NC*, 1:85 (fn. 82). The Rus' Church after the conversion of 988 was not at first "under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Ohrid" (*NC*, 1:112 [fn. 105]); this theory, advocated by M. D. Priselkov, was refuted on the basis of source testimony by Ernest Honigmann, "Studies in Slavic Church History: A. The Foundation of the Russian Metropolitan Church According to Greek Sources," *Byzantion* 17 (1944–1945): 148–58. In addition, it is not only highly questionable but probably also offensive to say the Black Death "was brought by gypsies from India" (*NC*, 3:169 [fn. 4]).

doleances the inclusion of trivialities[27] and inconsistent definitions and explanations[28] in the footnote commentary. All in all, the footnotes give the impression of having been hurriedly done, off the top of the head as it were.

To these criticisms of the ancillary matter, I would like to add a number of other problems that I have encountered with the translation itself. In previous translations that Serge Zenkovsky undertook, he tended to disregard the principle of explaining to the reader when his translation differed significantly from the literal meaning of the source text. I will cite an example from his *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*. In that book, he provides his own translation of the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign* and of *Zadonshchina*.[29] The question of the date of composition of *Ihor's Campaign* is an open one. Theories range from the late twelfth century shortly after the campaign itself (Pritsak) to the late eighteenth century, indicating a forgery (Mazon, Zimin), with every century in between championed by at least one scholar. The dating of *Zadonshchina* is less open although still controversial—sometime between the 1380s (Tikhomirov), that is, immediately after the battle on the Don River occurred, and the mid-fifteenth century (Salmina, Pelenski), in any event before the 1470s, the decade to which the earliest manuscript has been dated. The textual relationship of these two works is the major issue because they have a number of lines of text in common. Those who think *Ihor's Campaign* is early argue that similar passages in *Zadonshchina* indicate that its author borrowed from *Ihor's Campaign*. Those who opt for a later date for *Ihor's Campaign* argue that its author borrowed from *Zadonshchina*. Zenkovsky was one of the believers in the authenticity of *Ihor's Campaign* and, therefore, the derivative nature of *Zadonshchina*. Here is one example of how this view affected his translations of these two texts.

[27] For example: "According to Orthodox teaching, each person has a guardian angel" (*NC*, 3:49 [fn. 71]). This statement may also be misleading since the teaching is Hebrew in origin (Ps. 91:11) and the Western Church developed the theological doctrine much more fully. Besides, Zenkovsky's note glosses a quotation from Mt. 18:10–11, which should have been but was not indicated as such in the text.

[28] Compare the various definitions of "ulus": *NC*, 3:xxxiii; 3:150 (fn. 76); 3:161 (fn. 97); 4:xxviii; 4:17 (fn. 23); and 4:130 (fn. 58). See also *NC*, 5:28 where Vasilii Iur'evich's nickname Koco is translated as "One-Eyed," with the note: "Or 'Crosseyed'; it was later that Prince Vasilii was blinded, although only one eye was actually lost" (fn. 32). But on the next page, and continuing thereafter, Koco is translated as "Crosseyed," with the subsequent note: "Apparently only one eye was damaged, which is the reason for his later sobriquet, 'the Crosseyed' " (5:33 [fn. 34]).

[29] *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, ed. and trans. by Serge A. Zenkovsky, rev. ed. (New York, 1974), pp. 169–90, 212–23. Although Zenkovsky states in his preface that "[w]hen possible, already existing translations have been used. . ." (p. vi) and admits that English translations of *Ihor's Campaign* had already been made (p. v), it seems clear, from his introductions in his anthology to both the translation of *Ihor's Campaign* and to that of *Zadonshchina* appearing there, that Zenkovsky did his own translation of both these works (see *Medieval Russia's Epics*, pp. 168–69, 212).

Ihor's Campaign (line 32):

О руска земле, уе за ,оломнем& еси![30]

literal translation:

O Rus' land, you are already (after? beyond? over?) *sholomianem''*.

Zenkovsky translation:

O Russian land! You are already far beyond the hills.[31]

The major problem here is the meaning of ,оломнем&. It could mean "hill," or it could mean a ridge of mountains, a ridge pole of a tent, the roof ridge of a house, a helmet, or it could be a place name or even a person's name, or something else entirely.[32] We simply do not know what it means in this context. If ,оломнем& means "hill," then the singular creates a difficulty. What hill? It has been postulated that there was a hill that was on the boundary between Polovtsian territory in the steppe and Kievan Rus' from where Ihor came. However, no other source refers to such a hill. Another suggestion is that the reference here is to the attempt to make a distinction between the flat steppe where the Polovtsi resided and the more hilly terrain of Kievan Rus'.[33] Zenkovsky, apparently, opts for the second suggestion and changes the singular "hill" to the plural "hills," but without any indication in the text that he is doing so. A few lines later in *Ihor's Campaign* a similar line occurs:

Ihor's Campaign (line 47):

О руска земле, уе не ,еломнем& еси![34]

literal translation:

O Rus' land, you are already not the *shelomianem''*.

Zenkovsky translation:

O Russian land! You are already far beyond the hills.[35]

Not much can be made of the Rus' land not being a hill (or ridge or helmet or whatever ,[о/е]ломнем& might mean) unless it is some colloquial expression of the time that we do not know. Instead, this line is taken to be a corruption of line 32 above, the meaning of which is not clear either. Here Zenkovsky not only translates "hill" as the plural "hills" but also translates the adverb "not" (не) as the preposition "beyond" (за). Again, Zenkovsky does not indicate that he has made any change in

30 Roman Jakobson, "Edition critique du *Slovo*," in *La geste du prince Igor': Epopee russe du douzieme siecle*, ed. Henri Gregoire, Roman Jakobson, and Marc Szeftel (New York, 1948), p. 44.

31 *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, p. 172.

32 Max Vasmer, *Etimologicheskii slovar' russkogo iazyka*, 4 vols. (Moscow, 1964–1973), 4:424–25. Struminski suggests "hill ridges," from an original form соломнем&. Bohdan Struminski, "Provenance and Transmission of the *Slovo* Text," *Russian Review* 47 (1988): 254, 257. My thanks to both Horace Lunt and Bohdan Struminski for discussing the problems of this passage with me.

33 *Slovar'-spravochnik "Slova o polku Igoreve,"* comp. V. L. Vinogradova, 6 vols. (Leningrad, 1965–1984), 6:177–78.

34 Jakobson, "Edition critique," p. 46.

35 *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, p. 174.

his text. Let us take a look at Zenkovsky's translation of line 51 of *Zadonshchina*, a line that many scholars also consider to be a corruption of line 32 in *Ihor's Campaign*:

Zadonshchina (line 51):

Рус˜ска земл, то первое еси как за Соломоном царем побывало.[36]

literal translation:

Rus' land, you are as that first in Tsar Solomon's time occurred.

Zenkovsky translation:

O Russian land, you are far away beyond the hills.[37]

Admittedly, the meaning of this line in *Zadonshchina* is at best elliptical. The conclusion, among those who think *Ihor's Campaign* is primary, is that the author of *Zadonshchina* did not understand the reference to ,оломнем& in *Ihor's Campaign* (as, indeed, neither do we) and thought the OT King Solomon was meant. Therefore, so the argument goes, a gratuitous reference to Tsar Solomon appears in *Zadonshchina*. Zenkovsky's acceptance of this interpretation leads him not only to translate line 51 of *Zadonshchina* as though it should read the same as line 32 of *Ihor's Campaign*, but also to translate it according to his interpretation of that line in *Ihor's Campaign*, in other words, what he thinks that line *should* say. Again, he makes no indication of his reasoning in getting from "Tsar Solomon" to "the hills." Nor does he indicate that anything else other than what he translates might be in the source text.

From a number of similar examples in the Zenkovskys' translation of the Nikon Chronicle, I will pick only one as an illustration. Under the entry for the year 1037, the following passage appears:

Nikon Chronicle (1037)

рослав&. . . собра писц многы, и прелага,е от& Грек& на
Словн˜ское писание, и спи,а книги многи. . . .[38]

literal translation:

Iaroslav. . . gathered many scribes, transferring/translating them
from Greece for the purpose of Slavonic writing, and they copied
many books. . . .

36 The four manuscripts that testify to this line differ in word order, but the meaning is roughly the same. I have chosen to represent Jakobson's reconstruction here. *Sofonija's Tale of the Russian-Tatar Battle on the Kulikovo Field*, ed. Roman Jakobson and Dean S. Worth (The Hague, 1963), p. 32. Cf. A. A. Zimin, "*Zadonshchina* (Opyt rekonstruktsii teksta Prostrannoi redaktsii)," in *Uchenye zapiski Nauchno-issledovatel'skogo instituta pri Sovete Ministerov Chuvashskoi ASSR* 36 (1967): 222; and R. P. Dmitrieva, "Teksty *Zadonshchiny*," in *Slovo o polku Igoreve i pamiatnik Kulikovskogo tsikla*, ed. D. S. Likhachev and L. A. Dmitriev (Moscow and Leningrad, 1966), pp. 537, 542, 549, 552.

37 *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, p. 216.

38 *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei (PSRL)*, 38 vols. (St. Petersburg, Petrograd, Leningrad, and Moscow, 1843–1989), 9:80.

Zenkovsky translation:

> Iaroslav assembled many scribes who translated many books from Greek into the Slav language.[39]

The standard view among historians is that translation from Greek into Church Slavonic was occurring in Kiev in the eleventh century. Linguists, however, cannot point to any work that was incontrovertibly translated from Greek into Church Slavonic in Kiev. Given the loss of so many manuscripts, the absence of such extant manuscript evidence would not be so damaging to the Greek-translation-in-Kiev theory if we had sufficient collateral evidence that such translations were occurring. Yet, the *only* evidence that is commonly cited for this phenomenon is this passage in the chronicles.[40] As one can readily see, the literal meaning of this passage does not support Kiev as the place where Greek translations were occurring unless one understands the passage to mean something other than what it says. The verb прелагати/перелагати by the sixteenth century can mean "to translate" from one language to another, but it can also mean "to transfer" from one location to another. The word in the *Povest' vremennykh let* at this point is прекладати, which can only mean "to carry across" or "to transfer." The noun Грек& can mean "a Greek," as in a person from Greece, but it also means "Greece" itself. And, at that time, in the early eleventh century, Bulgaria was considered part of Greece because of its having been conquered by the Byzantine Empire. Грек& never means "the Greek language." So, neither the verb прелагати nor the noun Grek& supports the translation of this passage as "translated from... [the] Greek [language]."[41] Instead, one must accept the simpler explanation that scribes from Bulgaria versed in Church Slavonic were brought to Kiev to copy Church Slavonic works, which had already been translated in Bulgaria. Any other interpretation of this passage requires the imposition of a preconceived historiographical notion on the words that are there in the text.

No one is claiming that a translator is not allowed to provide his or her own interpretation of the material, but it is incumbent upon translators to indicate when their interpretation leads them to postulate something significantly different from what is in the source text. In addition, specialists in other fields could be misled by anachronistic terminology. The term "Golden Horde" can be found in no source earlier than the end of the sixteenth century and then only in Muscovite sources.

39 *NC*, 1:142.

40 See, e.g., A. I. Sobolevskii, "Osobennosti russkikh perevodov do-mongol'skogo perioda," *Materialy i issledovanie v oblasti slavianskoi filologii i arkheologii, Sbornik Otdelenie russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk,* 88 (1910): 162; M. A. Meshcherskii, "Iskusstvo perevoda Kievskoi Rusi," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 15 (1959): 55; D. S. Likhachev, "Kommentarii," in *Povest' vremennykh let*, 2 vols. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), 2:376.

41 For a discussion of this passage as it appears in the *Povest' vremennykh let*, see Horace G. Lunt, "On Interpreting the Russian Primary Chronicle: The Year 1037," *Slavic and East European Journal* 32 (1988): 251–64. See also Katherine Stoiano, "The Question of Literary Translation in Kievan Rus' During the Eleventh Century" (unpublished paper).

The Mongols never used it to designate their khanate with its capital at Sarai. Instead they called it the Khanate of Kipchak (desht-i-kipchak) or Ulus of Djuchi. The term "Golden Horde" does not appear in the Nikon Chronicle, which maintains the language of the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries in this regard. When the word orda appears in the Nikon Chronicle or when the text says a Rus' prince goes "to the horde" (во орду), the Zenkovskys, although sometimes translating it as "the Horde," mostly translate it as "the Golden Horde," with no brackets around the additional word "Golden."[42] Then, under the entry for 1373, they translate орда as "the [Golden] Horde," with brackets. But after that they translate it simply as "the Horde" again. Thus, an unwary reader might think that the term "Golden Horde" was operative in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when it was not.

In addition, the indiscriminate use of "Russia" and "Russians" to apply to all East Slavic-speaking groups is not only confusing but could be seen to represent an implicit acceptance of the Pogodin-Solov'ev theory of the migration of the Great Russians from Kiev to the northeast during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[43] It denies the early cultural heritage of Ukrainians and Belorussians and smacks of Great Russian chauvinism. We certainly do not need to perpetuate such antiquated and prejudicial nationalist theories in the scholarly literature.

Another problem is one that Waugh brings up in his review but may be even more serious than he indicates. This is the problem of the substitution of text from derivative copies and redactions *because* that information is more detailed and more interesting. Not only is this stated editorial policy "alarming," as Waugh points out, and not only does Zenkovsky in fact follow this policy,[44] but it represents a deep-seated misunderstanding of textual criticism and of the basic principles of editing a text for publication. To be fair, I should point out that Zenkovsky's views reflect those of traditional Russian and Soviet text editing practice (textology), but that does not mean, thereby, they are any less wrongheaded. Western textual criticism differs from Russian and Soviet textology in several fundamental ways.[45] One of these differences is the tendency in Russian and Soviet textology to trust the longer, more complete reading over the shorter, more elliptical reading, whereas Western text critics generally take the shorter, more elliptical reading as primary. Another is the tendency to accept the smoother reading over the more difficult reading (*lectio difficilior*). Zenkovsky inherited the textological practices of accepting longer, more complete over shorter, more elliptical readings, and smoother over rougher readings.

[42] *NC*, 3:14, 16, 28 passim. For examples of orda being translated merely as "the Horde," see *NC*, 3:56, 57, and 70.

[43] See Nataliia Polons'ka-Vasylenko (Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko), *Two Conceptions of the History of Ukraine and Russia* (London, 1968). The form "Rusian" does appear once (in a footnote), but that may be a typographical error. See *NC*, 1:29 (fn. 97).

[44] See, e.g., *NC*, 4:93.

[45] I described some of the differences in a paper, "Textual Criticism as Practiced in the West and in the Soviet Union," presented at the First National Hilandar Conference, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 3 May 1984. In that paper I attempted to provide a historical explanation for the differing tendencies.

This tradition helps to explain his justification, first, that the extra information the Nikon Chronicle includes for the ninth to twelfth centuries (over that of the *Povest' vremennykh let*) is to be trusted as historically reliable:

Of particular interest are the entries dealing with the period treated in the *Nik.* redaction of *The Primary Chronicle*. B. A. Rybakov expressed the opinion that the writers of *Nik.* had at their disposal some South Russian sources concerning the ninth to twelfth centuries which were not included in *The Primary Chronicle mss.* Kloss, too, believes in the existence in the sixteenth century of such South Russian chronicle sources. Nonetheless, he expressed doubt as to the authenticity of some items of this period in *Nik.* Certainly, mention of Gostomysl as the first known Novgorodian leader. . . and the revolt against Riurik by the people of Novgorod under the leadership of Vadim, sound very much like later folkloristic memories. Let us not forget, however, that such folkloristic recollections in many lands, including Russia and Scandinavia (its sagas) often actually did reflect historical facts. . . . Similar recollections could have been preserved by other persons and recorded in the vanished chronicles.[46]

In other words, because this information appears in the Nikon Chronicle, it must have been obtained from now missing chronicles, which had been written by people who had more or less direct access to those who had reliable information about the events being described. They could have, but it is more likely they did not. Noonan explains that these "unique entries cannot be dismissed out of hand since" some of these passages can be found in other non-chronicle sources. But Noonan also points out that the "inaccuracies, anachronisms, borrowings from oral literature, and tales of dubious authenticity" as well as the "didactic intentions and personal prejudices" of the compilers of the Nikon Chronicle mean that this "unique information [is] of great possible significance" (Noonan, p. 205). I agree with Noonan that it may be of possible significance, but only according to how we interpret it. Instead of beginning with an assumption that the extraneous information the Nikon Chronicle provides is historically reliable evidence about the time being described, I think we should consider it in the same light as scholars now look at biblical information. That is, unless we have some other specific reason, we should expect to find it reliable historical evidence only for the time in which it was written and then only for the mentality of that time. For the Nikon Chronicle this means the sixteenth century.[47]

But, if one accepts the extra information of the Nikon Chronicle as historically reliable evidence about the time being described, then it is only one more step to accept the extra information provided in secondary redactions and derivative manuscripts as also being reliable historical information about the time being described. The interpolators and secondary redactors must have had access, so the

46 *NC*, 1:xxxvi–xxxvii. One wonders if the use of the phrase "South Russian" was intended to antagonize Ukrainian readers.

47 For an important recent use of this formulation in relation to biblical criticism, see, e.g., Richard Elliott Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (New York, 1987, reprinted 1989). For its use in relation to the Nikon Chronicle specifically, see, inter alia, Jaroslaw Pelenski, "The Sack of Kiev of 1169: Its Significance for the Succession to Kievan Rus'," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 11 (1987): 313 (fn. 31).

argument goes, to reliable historical information the primary redactor did not have access to, or chose not to include. It is the ultimate triumph of the interpolation.

A related problem to substitution of text from secondary redactions and derivative manuscripts is the exclusion of certain sections to be translated. While Noonan commends the excising of text, and Ingham declares it acceptable, Hanak found the practice "[t]roublesome." And it is troublesome particularly because of the recurrent reason given for excluding text, such as, "[s]ince almost none of these stories. . . relates to Russian history, this section taken from the *Chronograph* is omitted here"[48] and "[s]ince these quotations. . . have no bearing on Russian history, they are not translated here."[49] The problem is in the defining of what is relevant to "Russian history" and what is not. Clearly, matters dealing with Byzantium are not relevant to "Russian history" in Zenkovsky's conception of what "Russian history" is. But what the chroniclers decided to include in their chronicles must have had some relevance for them. As Shields Kollmann points out, it represents their attempt to create a usable past. Zenkovsky himself acknowledges that the chronicles tend to "reflect the mentalities, political situation and cultural environment of their times." Thus, everything the chroniclers decided to include (as well as the fact that they excluded other items) becomes evidence for their mentality. In other words, by excising text and incorporating what he considers to be more interesting text from other sources, Zenkovsky imposes his own twentieth-century concept of what constitutes a usable past on that of the sixteenth-century chroniclers. Such an imposition cripples any attempt by readers to evaluate the sixteenth-century Muscovite mentality, precisely because it compromises the integrity of the source itself.[50]

In sum, most of the criticisms directed at this English translation of the Nikon Chronicle are justified, but they have less to do with the Zenkovskys' abilities as translators than with the editorial decisions surrounding the presentation of the translation:

(1) the introductory information is confusing;

(2) footnote commentary is too often gratuitous, trivial, repetitive, and misleading;

(3) not enough ancillary materials, such as maps and bibliographies, which would have been especially helpful to the knowledgeable reader in other fields;

(4) sections of text are excluded apparently for nationalistic reasons and the exclusions, especially in the early volumes, are rarely indicated;

(5) text is added from secondary redactions and derivative manuscripts for subjective reasons and it is often not indicated when this has been done;

48 *NC*, 4:85.

49 *NC*, 5:67.

50 Thus, its pedagogical value diminishes. Besides, Byzantine specialists who may not have the knowledge of East Slavic languages to allow them to read the chronicles in the original language could find Muscovite treatment of Byzantine texts helpful for comparative purposes.

(6) sensitive terms such as "Russia" and "Russians" are used indiscriminately when "Rus' " and "Rus'ians" would have avoided offense and been more precise;

(7) anachronistic terms, such as "Golden Horde," are used, rarely with any indication that the term in question is not in the text being translated.

On the other hand, the translation itself can be made serviceable, as long as the inconsistencies and inaccuracies contained therein are pointed out to readers, that is, if it is used with caution. What is particularly disheartening is that so many of these problems could have been eliminated before publication. The blame can be placed, in part, with the publisher, Kingston Press, which apparently neither required peer review nor provided firm editorial supervision, and in part with the National Endowment for the Humanities, which provided funds not only for the translation but also for the publication and which could have insisted on a more rigorous editorial process. If the volumes had been published through a university press, perhaps quality controls would have been in place, and we might then have much more to praise in these volumes (and Zenkovsky would not have had to resort to blaming his proofreader). In any event, in regard to similar large-translation projects, the translator (or, in this case, one of the translators) should probably not also be the editor. And the editor should be someone who is not only firm in eliminating repetitions and inconsistencies but also knowledgeable (preferably a specialist) in the subject being translated and fair-minded enough to allow differing viewpoints to be expressed.

The level of scholarship Zenkovsky displays here is indicative of a level that may have been acceptable at one time, but no longer is. For that reason, it is relatively easy to take a representative of the old school, like Serge Zenkovsky, to task for many of his editorial decisions and translations of particular words and phrases. But he and his wife cannot be criticized for two things: (1) for undertaking the translation of this valuable source and (2) for completing it. Those of us who have appointed ourselves the guardians of translation from Rus'ian to English (by virtue of the fact that we feel competent to criticize those who make such translations) should also walk in the *tufli* of the translators. Zenkovsky from the beyond can well say: "Some of your criticisms may be justified, but where is *your* contribution to the corpus of translated literature? Where is your equivalent to the five volumes we have done?" In that respect, the Zenkovskys' translation stands as a reminder to the rest of us that it is easier to criticize than it is to do.[51]

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[51] For a review that came to my attention too late for me to include in this review article, see Dean S. Worth, review of *NC* (vols. 1–5), *Russian Review* 50 (1991): 498–99.

REVIEWS

Z PROBLEMATYKI UKRAINOZNAWSTWA. Edited by *Florian Nieuważny*. Studia z Filologii Rosyjskiej i Słowiańskiej, 14. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1987. 161 pp.

On 19 October 1953, an ordinance of the Ministry of Higher Education in Warsaw established the Chair of Ukrainian philology at the University of Warsaw. On 17–18 November 1983, a scholarly conference took place in Warsaw on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of this center. Most of the papers presented there were published four years later in this special volume of the series "Studia z Filologii Rosyjskiej i Słowiańskiej."

This is a collection of thirteen studies, of which five are discussions on selected historical and literary-historical problems: Vasyl' (Bazyli) Nazaruk discusses the oeuvre of Bohdan Ihor Antonyč; Elżbieta Wiśniewska presents the European connections of works by Myxajlo Kocjubyns'kyj and Vasyl' Stefanyk; Grażyna Pazdro describes Ivan Franko's attitude, based on his Polish writings, toward Ukrainian school problems in his time; Mieczysław Inglot analyzes the contents of the collective work *Kwiaty i owoce* (Flowers and fruits), which appeared in Kiev in 1870; and Maurycy Horn gives an interesting description of the demographic and religious-ethnic structure of burghers in the Ukrainian lands of the Polish Crown during the years 1569–1648.

The next group of studies constitutes an attempt at summing up Polish achievements in Ukrainian studies during the past thirty years. Florian Nieuważny concentrates on works that originated with the Chair of Ukrainian Philology, celebrating its jubilee, while Elżbieta Horn writes on Ukrainian studies at the Institute of History of the Pedagogical College in Opole. Three authors discuss the state of Polish research on some specific issues: Franciszek Sielicki on Belorussian and Ukrainian folklore; Myroslav Ivanyk (Mirosław Iwanek) on literature of the Ukrainian Baroque of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and Stepan Zabrovarnyj (Stefan Zabrowarny) on the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Three essays are largely syntheses. Wiesław Witkowski casts a glance at the history of Polish studies on Ukrainian linguistics; Władysław A. Serczyk presents the needs and hopes of Polish historiography in the field of Ukrainian studies; and Ryszard Łużny discusses the general context of the existence of Ukrainian studies in postwar Poland. Of the works enumerated above, the two sketches by Łużny and Serczyk deserve particular attention, for they contain a number of interesting and apt

observations that allow one to understand the situation of the Ukrainianist in Poland in the 1980s.

Serczyk begins with the following comment:

> One says of us, the Poles, that we, more than any other people, are guided by and live by emotions. Not only we ourselves but others as well easily find a justification for such a state of affairs. For more than two centuries we have been persuaded by arguments based on emotion. Deprived of our freedom and divided by occupiers, we tried to find great achievements in our native past to help us survive the period of misfortune. Now, when the time has come to engage in acts other than those of insurgent explosion, not only is it not possible to forget those who by their talents supported the spirit of the nation, but—almost in the natural course of things—we have erected monuments to them and placed them on altars. This was bound to help perpetuate stereotypes, which repeated themselves with every new generation. Any attempt to undermine them caused an immediate and understandable reaction. The people who wished to appeal to their countrymen's reason were suspected of wanting to destroy the monuments and to defile what was held sacred; at best, their words were ignored.

We find the same idea in the essay by Łużny, who says:

> In Poland, it is not only that Ukrainian studies must be cultivated, but that this cannot be done in the way one does, e.g., with Scandinavian studies, Portuguese philology, Italian studies, or, for that matter, Turkic or Fenno-Ugrian studies. In our country—because of its geopolitical situation, its past history and, finally, the present situation—Ukrainian studies, even though we do not wish it, will always be entangled in these general conditions, will depend on external—ideological, philosophical, and nationalistic—factors, and will be viewed in reference to issues of cultural, social, and political life.

Łużny draws attention to the question of the policy of the communist state toward scholarship; that policy had, for the most part, a negative impact on Ukrainian studies in Poland. Łużny calls the circumstances in which every Polish Ukrainianist must work "extra-scholarly obligations." Both Łużny and Serczyk urge breaking free of these burdens, although they are realistic about the possibility of complete success. For that matter, Łużny rightly gives attention to a certain inevitability for the need to respect the social context of the scholar's work. Moreover, he believes that Ukrainian studies in Poland has a national mission, which he sees not as one of forming a "Polish point of view" of the questions posed, but as one of practicing one's specialty in a methodologically and philosophically open manner. This pursuit of objectivism and of overcoming the limitations of nationality is expected to influence Polish-Ukrainian relations by freeing them from many unnecessary tensions. Within this context, both Łużny and Serczyk note the existence of a Ukrainian minority in Poland and urge broad cooperation with scholars of Ukrainian and other nationalities.

Such a point of view is undoubtedly right, but one cannot help but be somewhat skeptical of the results of such high demands placed on Ukrainian studies. Contrary to what Łużny states at one point, Ukrainian studies—simply as Ukrainian studies, without assuming a role as the creator of political programs or teacher of a nation—can be a properly conducted discipline of independent scholarly thought. It would seem that it is useful for society to be exposed to every scholarly reflection that arises independently of and separately from current fashions and directions of

political thought. This is true even when the political or social atmosphere favors scholarship, as has been the case in Poland since 1989.

The achievements of Ukrainian studies in Poland during the years following the Second World War have been considerable, but these achievements have occurred, as it were, contrary to the organizational conditions for this discipline in Poland. The lack of a properly developed organizational base limits the effectiveness of Polish endeavors. The Warsaw center is active primarily in the fields of didactics and literary and linguistic research. There are no posssibilities for sponsoring wider research initiatives and it excludes history entirely from the area of its interests. Individual researchers work in various centers, mainly in Cracow (at the Jagellonian University and the Polish Academy of Sciences) and Warsaw (at Warsaw University and the Polish Academy of Sciences). In addition, there are regional centers such as the one in Opole and, now, Białystok (University of Podlachia), since Professor Serczyk went there intending to establish a center for research on East Slavic nations.[1]

It is Serczyk who, in his essay, devotes most attention to needs of an organizational nature and who appeals for the coordination of the work of different centers. His point of view is strongly supported by his review of the achievements of Polish historiography on Ukrainian questions. Huge gaps in these studies can be bridged, in his opinion, only through systematic and planned scholarly research. The recently organized Slavic conferences in Cracow and Lublin, at which the number of papers on Ukrainian topics presented by young researchers exceeded all others, prove that the human resources prepared for this task do exist. As one can see from the volume under discussion, there is in Poland a strongly felt need for the older generation of Polish Ukrainianists to give the younger a helping hand and to create institutional foundations for their work.

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Translated from Polish by Bohdan Strumiński

[1] The situation has changed since this review was written. As a result of the abolition of communism in Poland, limitations imposed from above have been removed from Ukrainian studies. The Polish Association of Ukrainian Studies was established in 1990, and a number of universities (Cracow, Lublin, Szczecin, Wrocław, Olsztyn, Poznań) have begun programs in Ukrainian studies. The Southeastern Scholarly Institute, specializing in research in Polish-Ukrainian relations, has been founded in Przemyśl.

PISMA POLITYCZNE Z CZASÓW PANOWANIA JANA KAZIMIERZA WAZY 1648–1668. PUBLICYSTYKA—EKSORBITANCJE—PROJEKTY—MEMORIAŁY, volume 1, 1648–1660. Compiled by *Stefania Ochmann-Staniszewska*. Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, Gdańsk, Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1989. xii, 265 pp. 1500 zł.

Professor Ochmann-Staniszewska, a specialist of parliamentary affairs in the seventeenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, has published the first of three volumes planned to encompass short political tracts of the reign of Jan Kazimierz. She has gathered 165 political writings for the entire reign, only twenty-one of which have been published in seventeenth-century or later editions. In carefully combing the large collections of early modern manuscripts in Poland, she has frequently found numerous copies of a single document. Consequently, she provides variant readings in the notes following each document. Faced with the generally anonymous nature of political writings (only thirty-five of the 165 documents contain authorial attributions, and Ochmann-Staniszewska questions the validity of half of these), the compiler has sought to identify authors wherever possible by using the scholarly literature.

The collection cannot be called complete. The compiler has not worked in Lviv, Vilnius, or any of the other locations in Ukraine, Lithuania, Belorussia, or Russia with substantial holdings of seventeenth-century manuscripts. She has also limited the collection through her definition of "political writings." She excludes poetry, in part on the grounds that it has been more extensively published and examined in the scholarly literature.[1] She generally omits Diet speeches and letters, although these genres served as mediums for the expression of political views. Even letters that appear to be private, in that they contain an addressee and an author, frequently circulated in numerous copies as political statements. To dwell on why one particular text is included or why another excluded, however, would be to divert attention from the accomplishment of *Pisma polityczne* in making available a wealth of new material on political affairs in the mid-seventeenth-century Commonwealth.

The fifty-five documents included in volume one, for the years 1648 to 1660, are arranged in chronological order. Of these, eight are in Latin and the others are in Polish. Fourteen have been published earlier. The documents deal with the major issues affecting the Polish-Lithuanian state: the royal election of 1648 and the discussion after 1655 about electing a successor during Jan Kazimierz's lifetime; the conflict between Vice-Chancellor Hieronim Radziejowski and the king in 1651–1652; projects to raise revenue and armies; and the debates over foreign alliances following the Swedish invasion of 1655. Many of the documents contain information on the questions that have long been discussed in literature on the

1 She does not, however, mention the important collection published by Ivan Franko, "Khmel'nychchyna 1648–1649 rokiv v suchasnykh virshakh," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* 28 (1898): 1–114.

Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising: the plans of Władysław IV and Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński to carry on a war against the Ottomans and the role of the Cossacks in these plans; the division of opinion in the Commonwealth as to whether the Cossack revolt should be ended through negotiation or by force; and the policies proposed by leaders of the Commonwealth for regaining Ukraine following the Pereiaslav agreement.

The student of Ukrainian history will find many passages of interest. In one text, Ukraine is called "totius Christianitatis murus Atheniensis" and lamented as the former "robur militiae" that had once provided forty to fifty thousand Zaporozhian Cossacks and twenty to thirty thousand private troops for the Commonwealth's defence (no. 46B, 1658, p. 220). In another, recorded well after the Pereiaslav agreement, Muscovite emissaries are reported to have said: "the Cossacks aren't yours and aren't ours, but as soon as we come to an agreement with you, the Cossacks will go under the Muslims" (no. 35, 1656, p. 160). Plans to establish colonies of Irishmen—called good soldiers—and Walloons—described as a most populous nation—in Ukraine are broached on the grounds that these peoples are good material as Catholics and are likely to come because they are poor (no. 42, 1657, p. 202).

A few documents are of particular significance for the historian of Ukraine. Together with a better edition of the "Sententia o uspokojeniu wojska zaporowskiego jednego szlachcica polskiego [Sententia of one Polish noble about the pacification of the Zaporozhian Host]" (no. 9, 1649, pp. 27–31), Ochmann-Staniszewska includes a response (no. 10, 1649, pp. 31–39) that has hitherto been available only in a description and partial Russian translation by Iurii Mytsyk.[2] The "Sententia," quite certainly written by Adam Kysil, presents the case for peace with the Cossacks and resurrection of plans for a war with the Ottomans. The response, found in a *silva rerum* of Michal Kałuszowski, a follower of Jeremi Wiśniowiecki, outlines a policy of war against the Cossacks and of peace with the Ottomans.

A text written as early as 1649 (no. 13, pp. 50–51) expresses the fear that, after the Zboriv agreement, a new republic could emerge in Ukraine and offers the Dutch as an example. This tendency to cite recent historical precedents is more fully developed in a document from 1654 (no. 30, pp. 133–35), which compares the Commonwealth to Spain, Ukraine to Belgium, and Khmel'nyts'kyi to William of Orange. French and English assistance to the rebels in the Low Countries is placed in juxtaposition with Tatar and Muscovite intervention in Ukraine. Calvinists and Orthodox are seen as playing similar roles.

Religious themes emerge in a number of documents. The response to the "Sententia" (no. 10) mentioned above includes a discussion of Orthodox discontent with Metropolitan Mohyla's westernizing religious policies, among which are the form of the crucifix he used and the type of roofs he built in restoring the Church of the Transfiguration in Kiev. The longest document in the volume, "Oświecenie tępych oczu synów koronnych i W. Ks. Litewskiego w ciemnej chmurze rebeliej

[2] Iu. A. Mytysk, *Analiz arkhivnykh istochnikov po istorii Osvoboditel'noi voiny ukrainskogo naroda, 1648–1654 gg.* (Dnipropetrovs'k, 1988).

schizmatyckiej będących [Enlightening the dull eyes of the sons of the Crown Land and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania who are in the dark cloud of a schismatic rebellion]" (no. 29, 1653, pp. 109–32), offers the most extensive evidence of Catholic religious enmity against the Orthodox. Through his attack of Adam Kysil, who in his eyes is equal to Khmel'nyts'kyi in guilt and is indeed an "instrument of the devil," the anonymous author assails the entire Orthodox faithful. His citation of a hitherto unknown letter of Metropolitan Kosiv to the city of Mahiloŭ (18 October 1649) and discussion of later events in that town provide valuable material on allegations of the Orthodox clergy's support of the revolt. The events mentioned seem to ring true and the letter may be authentic, though it is difficult to accept uncorroborated text cited in such a partisan tract.

The texts assembled by Professor Ochmann-Staniszewska reflect the views of those loyal to the Commonwealth and opposed to the revolt. In general, documents reflecting the views of those who rose in revolt are far fewer and frequently survive only because they were recorded during trials or were captured by the government's forces. Frequently, the rebels' views are known only because they are discussed by their opponents. There are numerous such instances in Ochmann's collection. In the attacks on the Orthodox already discussed, the views of the rebels are described and a document is cited. In other documents, polemics and rebuttals reveal the rebels' views. The author of "Discourse about the Present Cossack or Peasant War" (no. 2, 1648, pp. 5–10) lists a whole series of economic burdens as causing discontent and poses the charges leveled by the Cossacks against the Commonwealth before dismissing these issues as the underlying cause of the revolt, which the author sees as the evil of schism (Orthodoxy).[3] The hardline author of the response to the "Sententia" (no. 10, 1649) admits to the excessive exactions, especially by administrators of royal lands, before he concludes: "Dobrzeć mieć chłopka in officios ale tak jako owcę strzyc go, nie z skóry łupić według rady Augusta cesarza. Tak J.K.M. pan nasz poddanych, non hostes mieć będzie [It is good to have a peasant in service, but so as to shear him like a sheep, not to skin him according to the council of Caesar Augustus. Thus, the Lord His Royal Majesty will have subjects, not enemies]" (p. 38). An author of a dietine *votum* of 1649 (no. 15, pp. 53–55) admits to the wrongs committed against the Orthodox when he judges them unequal to the recent actions of the rebels:

> Nie wzięto Kozakom tak siłę cerkwi i podobieństwem, jako oni kościołów spalili i sprofanowali. Ledwie tak siłę popów w podwody wyprawili nasi, jako wiele Kozacy na on świat wyprawili księży. Nie wiem, jeżeli tak wiele powołowszczyzny we trzy lata zwykłej wzięto od ruskich chłopów, jako wiele oni chrześcijan i żydów w ćwierci roku zabili. Przez kilka albo kilkanaście lat czynszów od ruskich chłopów tak siła nie przychodzi, jako oni w ćwierci roku poczynili szkody i w zdobyczy odnieśli z naszą straszną infamią szlacheskiego zwłaszcza narodu.

[3] For a discussion of this text, see Frank E. Sysyn, "Seventeenth-Century Views on the Causes of the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising: An Examination of the 'Discourse on the Present Cossack or Peasant War'," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 5, no. 4 (December 1980): 430–66.

[Not nearly as many Orthodox churches were taken away from the Cossacks as the Catholic churches they burnt and despoiled. Not nearly as many peasants were sent by our men to perform transport duty as Cossacks sent Catholic priests to their death. I do not know whether as much usual ox tax was levied from Ruthenian peasants in three years as they killed Christians and Jews in one-quarter of a year. Not as much rent comes from Ruthenian peasants in several or a dozen years as they did harm and took booty in one-quarter of a year to our terrible infamy, particularly to the infamy of the noblemen's nation.]

Ochmann-Staniszewska has given us numerous voices from the better-documented side of the barricade. The texts can only be understood fully and the issues that they raise can only be examined thoroughly when placed within the context of the period's numerous letters, *vota*, reports, broadsides, poems, and Diet diaries, most of which remain unpublished. She might have increased the utility of her volume had she specified which texts are truly new documents not mentioned in earlier scholarly literature. Indications of the citations and discussions of other scholars would have assisted readers in interpreting the texts. Since she has provided only minimal annotation, such information, even if incomplete, would have been helpful.

Ochmann-Staniszewska has given us much to incorporate into our understanding of the 1648–1660 period. The next two volumes of her work should further our knowledge of the latter part of Jan Kazimierz's reign and of the period in Ukrainian history traditionally called the "Ruin." We can hope that eventually she will broaden her project in two ways: that she will turn to other genres which did not fit within her earlier criteria of political writings; and that she will examine the archives and libraries of Poland's eastern neighbors for additional texts.

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IUZOVKA AND REVOLUTION, vol. 1, LIFE AND WORK IN RUSSIA'S DONBASS, 1869–1924. By *Theodore H. Friedgut.* Studies of the Harriman Institute, Columbia University. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989. 361 pp. $45.00.

This excellent book contributes greatly to our understanding of imperial Russia's history and of her industrial history in particular. It amply illustrates the necessity for the close study of local society and economics in conjunction with politics. It is readable and impressive in its broad scholarship. Readers will find thoughtful analysis of the roles of both the state and the industrialists and of their governance of the workers who were producing the coal, iron, and steel. They will find interesting details on the daily life of the workers and detailed analysis of a rich collection of statistics on the relevant economic and social elements—worker migration, training, and medical care, for example. This is the first volume of two; the second will discuss political development and revolutionary events.

The volume focuses firmly on major themes—the resistance of the state and "higher" classes to change; the fundamental changes occurring in society; and the fragmentation of the developing Donbass society. Friedgut elaborates these themes, showing, for example, how the industrialists used state power and customs to control the workers and promote productivity. He discusses how education and salaries reflected and contributed to social change and the increasing fragmentation of sectors of society, illustrating his assertion that a significant characteristic of the Donbass at the turn of the century was the absence of a sense of community.

Careful research and thoughtful writing characterize the book. Examples abound: Friedgut discusses the rise in teachers' salaries compared with those of miners and factory workers, illustrating the rising attention to education and the social divisions related to it. He also relates the conditions he describes to conditions in the Donbass of the 1920s and in other countries.

Ukrainian readers will be interested to note how few Ukrainians Friedgut found in his population analyses. He notes Ukrainian cultural events but does not specifically discuss the Russian character of education or address the issue of Russification. Scholars seeking a broad knowledge of social development will note the near absence of women. Workers do not play roles as people; they are objects of the state or businesses' rules or statisticians' figures. They and the local industrialists probably will emerge as more prominent actors in volume 2.

The general reader will enjoy this book, as will specialists in the fields of industrialization and Russian and Ukrainian history. We can look forward with pleasure to the next volume.

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MORALITY AND REALITY: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ANDREI SHEPTYTS'KYI. Edited by *Paul Robert Magocsi*, with the assistance of *Andrii Krawchuk*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989. xxiv, 485 pp. $44.95.

The present volume is a collection of articles, most of which were first presented as papers at a conference on 22–24 November 1984 sponsored by the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto. The contributions treat the entire range of aspects of Sheptyts'kyi's life. The result is an impressive volume that covers the metropolitan's manifold activities—though, curiously, Sheptyts'kyi himself as a person is nowhere considered.

The book certainly contributes, as it has set out to do, to a better understanding of the metropolitan and introduces him to a wider public. A number of the contributions add substantially to our knowledge and understanding of Sheptyts'kyi; others sum up various facets of his work. J.-P. Himka's article on the metropolitan's early

relations with the national movement, the articles by B. R. Bociurkiw and H. Stehle dealing with the period of World War II, and A. Zięba's article on Polish views of Sheptyts'kyi should be singled out. The articles by B. Kazymyra, B. Procko, and A. Pekar are informative about Sheptyts'kyi's activities in North America, while P. Bilaniuk on Sheptyts'kyi's theological thought and A. S. Sirka on his fostering of education and other philanthropy offer new perspectives.

In spite of the book's many merits, however, there are also serious flaws. Editing a work by twenty-one different authors is no easy task, but the difficulties do not excuse the inattentiveness of the editor. Factual errors, stylistic infelicities, and simple oversights abound. The most serious and inexplicable lapse is the literal repetition of entire passages in two of the articles, "Sheptyts'kyi and the Austrian Government" by W. Bihl and "Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement after 1914" by B. Budurowycz. Compare pages 20 and 48 (beginning with "Throughout. . ."), pages 22 and 49–50 ("In September 1917. . ."), and pages 23 and 50 ("In June 1918. . ."). Bihl's article, moreover, suffers from an overdose of irrelevant matter—the dates and facts of Sheptyts'kyi's early life and the question of Chełm (Kholm) have little to do with the Austrian government.

Only a random sampling of other slips can be given. A number of the articles, presumably, were translated from other languages—I say presumably, because this is nowhere admitted, but the foreign cast of the English betrays it. "Sheptyts'kyi and Polish Society" by R. Torzecki suffers most from inept translation, and one doesn't know whether to blame some blunders on the author or the translator (p. 86—missionary work was curtailed *due to,* not "despite" the Concordat). This article, moreover, stood in need of a firm editorial hand to excise meaningless and hackneyed phrases, of which "two brotherly societies" (p. 75) is only an extreme example. Graver than these is the mistranslation in the article of Sh. Redlich, "Sheptyts'kyi and the Jews," of a quote from a pastoral letter of 1902. The editor should have realized, even if the author had not, that when Sheptyts'kyi wrote of speaking "v rus'kii movi," he most certainly did not mean "Russian" (p. 150).

The citations in many of the articles suffer from slavish literalness. "I was. . .always raised in a home of a priest" (p. 209) is typical. While we are on style, can isolation "wane" (p. 320)? And, throughout the footnotes it is irritating to see, wherever "ibid." does not begin the note, "in ibid."

Turning to the substance of the articles, some statements may be questioned, others are simply wrong. In the article "Sheptyts'kyi and Ecumenism" it is to be deplored that the author, L. Husar, chose to use for the Union of Brest the pejorative term *Uniia,* which, besides, is false to Sheptyts'kyi's own evaluation of that historical event. It is also with some surprise that one reads in the same article about "exaggerated nationalism" in Belorussia (p. 194). Did Sheptyts'kyi really have "a policy of making the Greek Catholic Church a bulwark of Ukrainianism," as Budurowycz asserts (p. 67)? The key word here is *policy,* which gives evidence of a fundamental misunderstanding of Sheptyts'kyi, who in his writings repeatedly warned against making the Church or religion an instrument for nationalist or even national ends. Other statements in the article reveal an equal lack of perception. In the article by M. Mudrak dealing with art, the information on typographies is

erroneous (p. 294), and the author has difficulty in analyzing Sheptyts'kyi's aesthetic canon, as shown by her contradictory remarks (cf. pp. 296, 297).

Yet, the volume as a whole is the most important work to date to appear in English on Sheptyts'kyi. All the articles in themselves have something to offer. They, and the person the book commemorates, deserved better handling.

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GERMANY TURNS EASTWARD: A STUDY OF *OST-FORSCHUNG* IN THE THIRD REICH. By *Michael Burleigh.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. 351 pp. $52.50 cloth, $16.95 paper.

Burleigh describes his book as a study of "scholarship-as-power," ultimately of "the complete perversion of scholarship as an active arm of the power of the state" (pp. 283, 286). The state was Nazi Germany, and the scholars—historians, anthropologists, geographers—were those who studied Eastern Europe, at a time when the interest of the state in that field was anything but academic. Burleigh's research into the role of such scholars in state policy reveals a complicity so profound that it reaches even to the humblest supplies of scholarship—index cards, for instance. The Berlin *Publikationsstelle* (PuSte), at the organizational center of German scholarship on Eastern Europe, kept an extensive card file through the 1930s on Polish scholars, vigilantly monitored as the academic enemy (p. 89). After the Nazi conquest of Poland in 1939, the PuSte kept an "Ethnic Card Index" which sorted out Germans and Poles to identify what was racially "valuable" in Poland, while a separate card index analyzed "Jews, gypsies, coloured persons, Asiatics" (pp. 185–86). Such was scholarship-as-power, for the cards played their part in the terrible work of resettlement, deportation, and extermination.

Burleigh's organizational analysis of the PuSte is interesting and important, but the most fascinating material in the book is the stuff that makes up the careers of the individual academics, pursuing their researches within Nazi Germany and then in occupied Eastern Europe. They appear at times as a gallery of grotesques, of creepy academic caricatures, but they also appear disturbingly recognizable as scholars with an interest in Eastern Europe, our colleagues, just on the other side of an awful abyss in the intellectual history of the twentieth century.

The grand old man of the PuSte was Albert Brackmann, an evil medievalist, who already in 1933, when he published a volume of essays on "Germany and Poland," sent a copy to Hitler himself with a fawning letter to express "our gratitude for the intelligent and success-promising way in which you too have tackled these most difficult questions of our internal and foreign policy" (p. 64). In 1935, at a conference held ominously near the German border with Czechoslovakia, Brackmann formulated the role of *Ostforschung* in an unequivocal pronouncement: "Our scholarly

research will be involved wherever it is necessary to support and promote the interests of Germandom. We must all rationalize our academic efforts and let them be determined by one great thought: how can my work be of use to my fatherland?" (p. 137). Though Brackmann was edged out of the directorship of the Prussian archives in 1936, Burleigh insists that this had nothing to do with political misgivings about the regime, that the old man was merely outmaneuvered by a younger generation of ambitious academics. In fact, in 1939 the emeritus Brackmann was still collegially sending his articles on Otto III and medieval Eastern Europe to Himmler and Hitler, and after the outbreak of war he was commissioned to prepare a booklet for the SS on "the destiny of Poland and Eastern Europe." Here he summed up the lessons of medieval history: "The German people were the only bearers of civilisation in the East, and as the main power in Europe, defended Western civilisation and brought it to the uncivilised nations. For centuries Germany formed an eastern bulwark against lack of civilisation, and protected Europe against barbarism" (pp. 150–51). Burleigh might have pointed out that this perspective on civilization and barbarism, though especially creepy in the context of World War II, was in fact derived from the conventional academic formulas on Eastern Europe through the nineteenth century and back into the age of Enlightenment, and not only in Germany but in France and England as well.

Consider the case of Walter Kuhn, who had a special interest in Ukraine. In the 1920s Kuhn went to Volhynia to make an ethnographic study of German communities there, celebrating their "instinctive feeling of superiority and pride towards the surrounding peoples." In 1940 Kuhn could return to occupied Ukraine, to apply his academic expertise to the racial analysis of the population, identifying Germans of "exceptional racial quality" for resettlement (pp. 107, 177). Peter-Heinz Seraphim was another academic who came to Ukraine in wartime, after his prewar research on the economic role of the Jews in Eastern Europe. In 1937, as a mere academic, he was studying the ghettos of Eastern Europe, making maps, taking photographs, collecting statistics. The ghetto, he observed, not very scientifically, was "oriental" and "non-European," possessing even a "specific oriental smell." In 1941 Seraphim was in Ukraine to oversee the logistics of extermination, i.e., "the resolution of the Jewish Question in the Ukraine." He advised on practical issues: "Getting rid of the Jews must have far-reaching economic and even direct military-economic consequences." He took into account sentimental considerations, fearing "a brutalising effect upon the units (Security Police) who carried out the executions." Finally, he applied his academic insights to a prognosis for the future of the German occupation:

> One must be clear that in the Ukraine only the Ukrainians will produce anything of any economic value. If we shoot the Jews, let prisoners of war die, and deliver a large part of the population of the major towns to death by starvation, and in the coming years lose a part of the rural population through hunger, the question that will remain unanswered is "Who will actually produce anything of economic value here?" (pp. 220–21)

One of the complex questions raised by such an observation, and raised by Burleigh's material in general, is that of the relation between the Jewish Question

and the Eastern Europe Question for the Nazis. There was perhaps an important element of dual-directional ideological stigmatization, in which the Jews were additionally damned as inhabitants of Eastern Europe, while Eastern Europe was further denigrated as the domain of the Jews.

The scholarly career of Otto Reche brought him to the corridors of power as a racial consultant to the Nazi party and state in the 1930s. By 1942 scholarship-as-power was keeping him very busy: "I am overburdened with work to the limits of my strength, by teaching and administration, as a member and adviser to a considerable number of State and NSDAP offices, and as an adviser on references on people's racial origins for various civil and military agencies and the courts" (p. 213). Announcing himself as an expert on "the anthropological conditions in Poland," Reche warned that "we do not want to build a German people in the East in the future that would only be a linguistically germanised, racial mishmash, with strong Asiatic elements, and Polish in character" (pp. 166–67). The idea of Eastern Europe as mishmash was recommended by Reche in wartime as a basis for policy in the occupied lands, where even the very concepts of "Russia" and "Ukraine" should be challenged as false and dangerous:

> The eastern European *Raum* must not only be heavily subdivided into single countries, but also the individual peoples must keep or receive their ancient names and the name Russia must be replaced by older names. Rivalries between the races are to be encouraged. The smaller the individual area, the easier they will be to command; even White Ruthenia, and in particular the Ukraine (in its present extent) seem to me to be dangerously large. (p. 225)

The *Ostforscher* thus aspired to the power of renaming the lands and peoples of Eastern Europe, breaking down the region into artificial academic components, according to the strategic interests of the Nazi occupation. In fact, Reche believed that the Nazis could freely reinvent ethnic categories in Eastern Europe precisely because it was a "racial mishmash," where anthropology found "a common tendency to shorter and broader shaped heads, of lower and broader facial formation, of prominent cheekbones, primitive nasal formation and of thick, taut hair" (p. 242). Such was the language in which Nazi scholarship discovered its power over the peoples of Eastern Europe.

One may note with interest that Reche began as an anthropology professor in Vienna in the 1920s, but one can hardly help being a little surprised to learn that he became an honorary member of the German Anthropological Society in the 1950s. One of the most intriguing aspects of Burleigh's book is the way that the subject of *Ostforschung* cannot be neatly restricted to the years of the Third Reich from 1933 to 1945. In addition to remarking the academic origins of these scholars in Weimar Germany and the Austrian Republic, Burleigh has followed them into their postwar futures where expertise on Eastern Europe proved adaptable to the concerns of the Cold War. Seraphim, wartime consultant on extermination in Ukraine, went straight to Washington, D.C., after the war to continue his research on Eastern Europe, and eventually the whole PuSte library was shipped to Washington to be put at the service of U.S. intelligence, providing, for instance, detailed cartographical information about the lands that now lay behind the Iron Curtain (pp. 247–48). In 1952 the

Zeitschrift für Ostforschung was founded in the BRD, under the editorship of scholars who had worked through the PuSte to serve the Nazi regime, and survived to achieve academic success in the postwar republic. "The frontiers of two distinct spheres of civilization run straight through Europe," the journal declared in 1952. Burleigh comments, "The language, metaphors, and images, were curiously familiar, but worked into a global, Cold War, context" (p. 306). Burleigh's book is not only an important contribution to the history of Nazi Germany, but also essential reading for all of us who study Eastern Europe. We need to appreciate the ways in which our disciplines have been conditioned and compromised by the ideological preoccupations and perversions of the twentieth century.

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THE GERMAN ARMY AND NAZI POLICIES IN OCCUPIED RUSSIA. By *Theo Schulte*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989. xvi, 390 pp. $56.00.

Meticulously researched and judiciously argued, Theo Schulte's study of German rear area military rule in Russia is an important contribution both to on-going debates about the relationship between the Wehrmacht and the Nazi regime and to the social history of the German military during World War II.

Schulte begins by tracing the development of the historiography of German occupation policy in Russia from Dallin's quasi-apologia for the "decent" German officer corps to the "demythologizing" research of Bartov, Förster, Krausnick, Streit, and Messerschmidt, which emphasizes the collusive involvement of the upper (and, in Bartov's case, the lower) echelons of the military at every stage of the ideologically motivated barbarities committed on the eastern front. He then uses the abundant primary records of two rear area units, stationed behind the frontline combat troops of Army Group Mitte operating in the vicinity of Smolensk, in order to test how well the general conclusions of recent research mesh with the daily realities of the soldiers on the ground.

Schulte presents a much more "normal" view of German military experience in this dangerous and inhospitable environment than, for example, the relentless butchery shown in Klimov's recent film, *Idi i smotri*. While rapid reaction forces undoubtedly hammered their way through village after village, leaving a trail of burning houses and suspected partisans hanging from telegraph poles, other German units, marooned in none too splendid isolation, lounged around in slippers in their remote blockhouses or struck deals with local partisan chiefs demarcating each other's catchment areas for plunder. These details of military normality behind the front are designed to qualify, if not question, the received macro view of the German army as a smoothly functioning, ideologically motivated, killing machine engaged in a war of racial extermination. Here Schulte is in broad agreement with the wider

conclusions of recent research on pockets of normality within German society during this period. It might have been useful, of course, had Schulte devoted as much detail to at least one of the hundreds of villages decimated by German forces as he does to the dozing denizens of blockhouses notionally occupied guarding sections of railway track. Here, Russian-language sources and interviews with Soviet survivors might have resulted in a firmer statement of the macro "new orthodoxy" which Schulte sets up in order to qualify.

Notwithstanding his interest in the unexceptional existences of ordinary German soldiers, Schulte provides much evidence of the army's involvement in the deliberate starvation of the civilian population; in the neglect and murder of millions of POWs; and in assisting the depravities of the SD Einsatzgruppen. Whether through official requisitioning policy or unofficial looting, the Soviet civilian population was reduced to starvation, thus nullifying the effects of both German propaganda and attempts to win support through the decollectivization of agriculture. Russian POWs were left diseased and freezing in holes in the ground and were fed rations whose caloric content compared unfavorably with that of the guard dogs patrolling the perimeter fencing. Relations between the army and SD were close, cordial, and friction-free, whether this involved giving the latter access to politically suspect POWs or facilitating the Einsatzgruppen's war against the Jews. Contrary to the received cliché of the decent soldiery viewing the actions of the SS with distaste, the latter were often valued for the assiduity they brought to the pacification of areas where partisans were active. Again, Schulte's rather brief discussion of relations between army and SD could have been augmented by the type of evidence used by Klee and Dressen in their outstanding *"Gott mit uns": Der deutsche Vernichtungskrieg im Osten 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1989).

Schulte's principal achievement is to provide a differentiated account of everyday military experience without lapsing into apologetics through excessive "empathy" with his chosen subjects. This distinguishes his work from a recent attempt to rewrite both the objectives and consequences of this most terrible of wars. At various points throughout the book, he addresses himself to the reasons for the war's massively documented barbarities. Where it has become the new orthodoxy to emphasize the role played by ideological fanaticism, Schulte stresses a whole range of factors, including general conditions like climate, the open-endedness of orders from higher authorities, the ferocity of the enemy, the distance between the civilian population and the closed world of the occupiers, the unfitness of rear area officers, and the gradual supercession of a naïve belief in the efficacy of massive applications of force by the indiscriminate lashing out induced by fear and nervousness. Ideological fanaticism undoubtedly belongs in this equation, but so too do the men who deserted, mutilated themselves, or who opted for the life of slippered soldiers. In that sense, as Schulte shrewdly concludes, the three million men in the Eastern Army were a true cross section of German society under National Socialism.

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DEV''JAT' ROKIV U BUNKRI. SPOMYNY VOJAKA UPA. By *Omeljan Plečen'*. Biblioteka Prolohu i Sučasnosty, 175. New York: Sučasnist', 1987. 216 pp.

Omeljan Plečen' (pseud. Čaban), a soldier in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), hid in the forests of the Lemko region of Poland during the years 1947–1956. His reason for doing this was the desire to continue the activities of the UPA, in spite of the liquidation of the Ukrainian guerilla movement as a result of the "Wisła" (Vistula) operation of 1947. At that time, most of the members of the UPA moved to the territory of the Soviet Union, tried to reach the West through Czechoslovakia, or remained in Poland but ceased their armed activity.

Plečen' and his comrade, Stepan Soročak (pseud. Kryk), were given by their military chiefs the mission of remaining in the Lemko region (the Ukrainian population was resettled by the Warsaw authorities from these territories to the northern and western parts of the country); their mission, furthermore, was to mediate the transmission of information between various groups of the UPA still operating in the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. When individual links of this information chain were broken by police and military organs of the Warsaw government, the performance of that task became impossible, but the two soldiers decided to remain in the forest. Living in successively built hideouts, relying on their own adaptibility and the help of Polish or Polish-Ukrainian families who befriended them, they survived until the political amnesty of 1956, during the period of post-Stalinist change in Poland. The previously promulgated amnesties had not included members of the Ukrainian underground.

Plečen' 's memoirs constitute an interesting literary-historical work. They certainly convey much of the atmosphere of guerilla life and bear witness to the transformations that take place in the psyche of a man in hiding. Moreover, they contribute interesting material for the analysis of the ethos of the Ukrainian in Poland after the Second World War. Of particular interest on this point are the final sections of the book: the description of a visit to the prosecutor's office at Peremyšl' (Przemyśl) and the account of several years spent legally near the place where the author had previously been in hiding. The hostility, unfriendliness, and even hatred that Plečen' encountered in his Polish neighbors forced both him and his brother (who had concealed the fact that he was Ukrainian until Plečen' emerged from hiding) to emigrate from Poland. The events described earlier—the Polish-Ukrainian fighting in 1945–1947—supply more than enough material to explain the reasons for that antagonism.

So far there have been few witnesses of this kind. Although Plečen' 's book is not of a documentary nature—it is a paradocumentary, literary work—its value is considerable. It demonstrates, graphically and convincingly, the split in a binational peasant community which had lived rather harmoniously for centuries and which had many ties through intermarriage. This type of community, on the Polish-Ukrainian border, disappeared rapidly. It was largely destroyed by politically motivated decisions: the 1945 agreement made between the governments in Warsaw

and in Kiev-Moscow concerning population exchanges; and the decision of the UPA to contine fighting on the territory of postwar Poland. The latter decision was partly the cause of and partly the pretext for the forced resettlement of the remaining Ukrainian and mixed populations. These acts created the mechanism for the internal self-destruction of the community. They ignited feelings of hatred between nationalities and caused a bloody rivalry between the two ethnic groups.

Plečen' 's book also exhibits another interesting phenomenon. After the great psychological stress and the drastic collapse of neighborly bonds in villages of mixed nationalities, there were still individuals on both sides who, almost on the very day following the cessation of direct armed conflict, tried to return to the old mode of coexistence. We find in Plečen' many illustrations of this phenomenon, with, at the same time, many examples showing how difficult—and in some cases even impossible—this was to achieve. It should be emphasized here that, though Plečen' does not demonize the Poles, he does not spare them many negative judgments.

Of note are the author's observations describing latent symptoms of the life of Ukrainians living in Polish surroundings in those areas from which most Ukrainians had been deported. These Ukrainians escaped resettlement either because they belonged to nationally mixed families, because they concealed their nationality, or because of various accidental circumstances. Our attention is drawn to a description of a visit to a witch doctor, the case of a Mrs. Kosińska, and an encounter with a Ukrainian pilgrimage praying on the ruins of the Greek Catholic chapel in Kalwaria Pacławska (Paclavs'ka Kal'varija).

This volume is not the publication of the author's original, unedited memoirs. A laconic note on the cover of the book indicates that it "was compiled and edited by Nina Il'nyc'ka on the basis of I. Dmytryk's record." It is a pity that the publisher does not explain in any detail what the nature of this editorialization actually is. The literary quality of the book certainly gained, but the documentary value, so important for the historian, is thus diminished.

The memoirs cover not only those "nine years in a bunker," but also include considerable paragraphs about earlier events, which are then inserted into the main narrative. The preface also provides some historical background, though with several inaccuracies: for example, the 1947 deportation is called a consequence of the 1945 Warsaw–Kiev (Moscow) agreement; there is no mention of the resettlement of the Polish population from the Ukrainian SSR to Poland, which was an important counterpart to the deportations of Ukrainians from Poland to the Soviet Union; the name of General Stefan Mossor is given incorrectly; and information provided about the goals of the UPA in Poland after 1945 is misleading because the struggle is reduced to the level of a campaign aimed at blocking the deportations.

The Polish literature on this provides an interesting comparative context for Plečen' 's memoirs. Since the appearance of Jan Gerhard's popular *Łuny w Bieszczadach* (Fire glow in the Bieszczady), many belletristic-cum-memoirist works similar to Plečen' 's have appeared in Poland. The authors of these works were often participants in the same fight as Plečen', but on the opposite side. In this context, attention should also be given to the collection of interviews with the vice-minister of internal

affairs of the Polish People's Republic, General Władysław Pożoga.[1] The appendix to this volume contains documents from the archives of the Palatinate Office of Internal Affairs in Rzeszów, which have not been published before. And, in light of these documents, Plečen' 's suspicion of the betrayal by the chief of the UPA quartermaster services in Poland, "Vyšyns'kyj," can be confirmed. Moreover, an analysis of the contents of document no. 7 of the appendix leads one to suggest that the person using that pseudonym was Iron Kudlajčyk, who also used the pseudonym "Dovšyj."[2]

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[1] *Siedem rozmów z generałem dywizji Władysławem Pożogą, pierwszym zastępcą ministra spraw wewnętrznych*, interviews by Henryk Piecuch (Warsaw, 1987).

[2] *Siedem rozmów*, pp. 336–38. It is worth noting that Plečen's memoirs have recently been published in Polish: Omelan Pleczeń, *9 lat w Bunkrze. Wspomnienia żołnierza UPA*, trans. Mirosława Kawecka (Lublin, 1991).